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ABSTRACT

This study, designed to explore the differences in the experiences of white and Negro workers in obtaining and retaining employment in the white-collar labor market, utilized an extensive questionnaire and structured-interview techniques. A survey was made of a random sample of 250 respondents (164 whites, 83 Negroes, and 3 Others) from three sources. Findings of the study are: (1) Few of the activities normally assumed to lead to successful employment experience proved to have a significant correlation with success in the labor market. (2) Virtually the same percentage of white and Negro workers were either married or had never been married. (3) Negro expectations of discrimination seem to make them doubt their chances with the result that they tend to enter the labor market later and to establish themselves more slowly. (4) Negro workers relied more than whites on the Employment Service for job referrals, but differences in the use of alternative methods was not as great as expected. (5) The training activities in the vocational schools seemed to contribute to generally more favorable employment records of those who took these courses voluntarily; it appears that on-the-job training is more successful than other types. (6) There is a similarity between the races in relation to employment success and school activities. (7) Social intercourse between workers was the same for both Negro and white. (DB)

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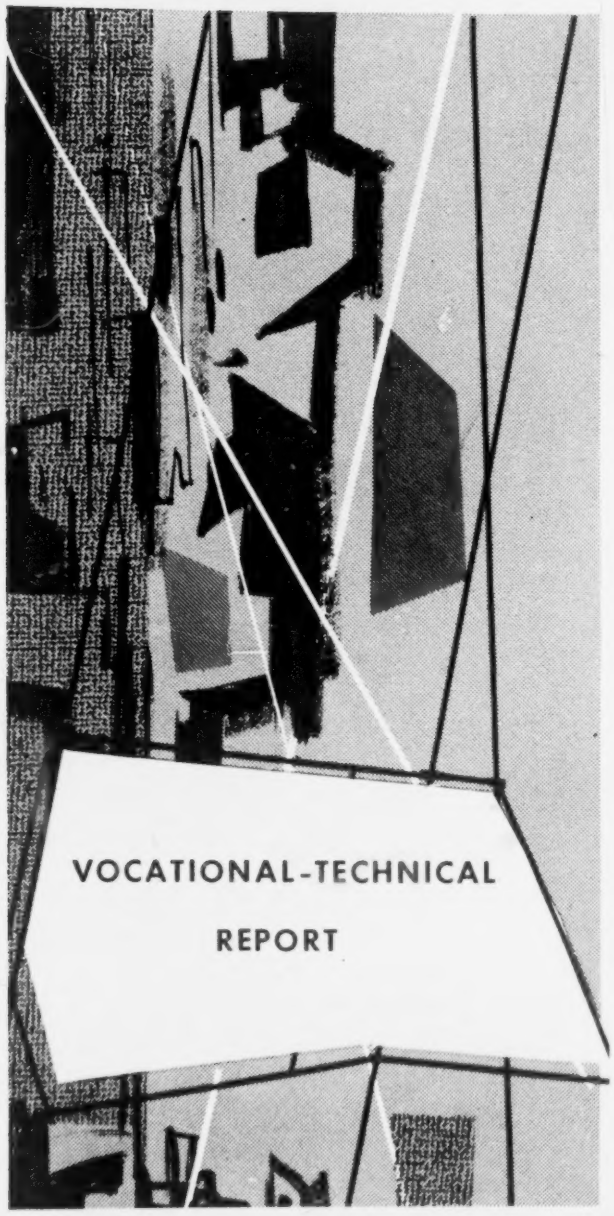

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by

Kirk R. Petshek

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CENTER FOR STUDIES IN VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The University of Wisconsin
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RESEARCH REPORT

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Negroes in the White-Collar Labor Market
Training, Employment and Attitudes

Background and Hypotheses

The study was designed to explore the differences in the experiences of white and Negro workers in obtaining and retaining employment in the white-collar labor market in order to identify barriers to employment of Negroes. The reason for concentrating on the white-collar (clerical) occupations was that barriers in this occupational category would show up more clearly than they would in other occupations, as workers aiming for white-collar jobs usually can be assumed to possess the needed skills. The occupation also is one which reaches across most industrial categories and in which social relationships on the job are important.

The basic hypothesis was that the various phases of employment preparation would have different but positive impacts on successful job search and employment. Correlation between these phases and the degree of successful employment experience would point to those aspects leading to more or less success in the labor market, thus indicating possible elimination or reduction of employment barriers.

However, the most significant finding of the survey was that there apparently is little relation between successful employment experience and those activities generally assumed to be good preparation for employment--schools, training, Employment Service, and so forth. Broadly speaking, what the workers did in school or in vocational school, what special training

they had, or how long they looked for a job seemed to make little difference in their experiences in the job market. Each of these aspects, individually, does not appear to result in sufficiently successful employment experience to establish statistically significant relationships.

The hypotheses in this study dealt with two areas: (1) the effectiveness for employment success of preparation in existing institutions, and (2) personal attributes, such as attitudes and behavior, obtainable only from the respondents' subjective statements.

1. While we did not hypothesize that courses or grades in high school would have much impact on employment success, a noticeable difference between the races was anticipated.

2. Vocational school training, especially for Negroes learning to adjust to industrial society and the mores of the world of work, was expected to affect the workers' experiences in the job market.

3. As Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) courses were instituted especially for persons lacking marketable skills, we hypothesized noticeable results for their subsequent employment experience.

4. We expected clear differences between the races in the effectiveness of different methods of job referral.

5. We hypothesized that the effect of the worker's marital status on his employment would differ between the races and that the less stable Negro family relationships would affect the stability and consistency of employment records.

6. We assumed that personal attitudes, appearance, and adjustment to work mores would be factors contributing to a difference between the races with respect to being hired and staying on the job. We anticipated that social relations among fellow workers and satisfaction with conditions at work would be barriers to employment promotion and job stability, and we hypothesized that several personal traits--the workers' families and environmental situations, their appearance and grooming, their attitudes, personal problems, and self-evaluation--would be responsible for their employment difficulties in the white-collar labor market.

Methodology

The survey covered 250 respondents, a majority of whom were high school graduates. A random sample was drawn from each of three sources so that the group of workers in the white-collar market would be sufficiently diversified to permit generalizations. Included were workers at the entry level, those applying for jobs through the Employment Service or directly at an employer's office, and those undergoing specialized training.

The sample was designed so that the number of whites and of Negroes to be interviewed would be approximately equal. However, as the race of respondents is difficult to predict, the distribution of the 250 respondents between races was not as anticipated. The sample actually was made up of 164 whites and 83 Negroes, a ratio of about 2:1; the remaining three were Mexican-Americans or Orientals.

The instrument devised for the structured interview was an extensive questionnaire which included a limited number of open-ended questions. Information was sought on demographic characteristics; the respondent's experience in school, vocational school, and training courses; his employment history; his pattern of job search; his experience at the State Employment Service; his relations with fellow employees; any causes for satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the job; his personal problems; and his attitudes toward the world of work. (See Appendix B for the questionnaire.)

The answers of each respondent were correlated with three indexes of "successful employment experience," selected following consultation with computer experts. Employment success in the four most recent jobs of each respondent was used to identify current barriers to being hired or retained on the job.

Index I, the most inclusive, related the time worked in the four most recent jobs, multiplied by the pay received in each, to the time the respondent could have worked in the past 36 months. (Time spent in school or service or, for women, time with small children in the family was eliminated from the 36 months.) The formula used was:

$$\frac{T_1 \times P_1 \times J_1 + T_2 \times P_2 \times J_2 + \ldots T_4 \times P_4 \times J_4}{36 \text{ months} - T(\text{school}) - T(\text{service}) - T(\text{children})}$$

where

T = amount of time

P = amount of pay received

J = full- or part-time employment, 1 for full-time and 1/2 for part-time.

Index II was identical with the first except that the Ps were omitted. It indicated the total time worked by each respondent during the past 36 months in relation to the total time the worker could have worked. If the respondent worked in addition to being in school or having small children, that factor should be added into the equation to improve the index of the worker's success. The pay factor was eliminated from this index because it was recognized that the rate of pay might be a function of the actual job obtained rather than an indication of relative success in obtaining a job; therefore, it might not be possible to compare the two on an absolute scale. In addition, a comparison of the first two scales might indicate their relationship.

Index III was the "improvement factor," measured by differences in pay received between jobs. We should have asked for "promotion" within any one job and then ascertained the difference in the job content and the pay before and after, but as we failed to ask that question of the respondents, the only way to ascertain improvement objectively was to figure the difference in pay in the different positions, eliminating from the sample those persons

who held only one job over the 36-month period. The formula was:

$$(P_2 - P_1) + (P_3 - P_2) + (P_4 - P_3)$$

This index was designed to serve only in a subsidiary capacity in support of the other two, where they showed some measure of correlation. Surprisingly, the improvement index was positive even where the other indexes did not indicate any correlation. Decreases in pay between jobs were reported in a number of cases.

The large number of correlations of the different aspects with employment success were expected to yield much insight, but only a limited number of statistically significant correlations appeared. Therefore, an approach was formulated in which the frequency distribution of all the answers was arrayed in quartiles by the time actually worked in the past three years, and the top and bottom quartiles for both white and Negro workers were examined. Pay received on the jobs was not considered. Students and mothers of small children were eliminated as the ratio between "time worked" and "time could have worked" would be highest for those who had only a limited time in which they could have worked. For example, a high school student who worked all summer on the highway would show the highest ratio, as his summers would be the only time out of school when he "could have worked." But this ratio would not indicate how he would do in the regular job market, let alone in competition for jobs for which the school trained him.

There were 19 whites and 11 Negroes in both the top and the bottom quartiles, or a total of 60 respondents.[1] The differences between these groups as well as between the races on responses to each question could thus be examined and analyzed to supplement the meagre conclusions which could be drawn from the correlations.

The Sample and Its Demographic Characteristics

The sample was drawn from different groups in an effort to provide the diversification of respondents necessary to have them representative of the white-collar labor market.

1. The sample included all 683 graduates of the class of January 1966 from seven Milwaukee high schools: 115 from North Division (virtually all Negro), 36 from Lincoln (78 percent Negro), 124 from Rufus King (55 percent Negro), 94 from West Division (40 percent Negro) 74 from Riverside (19 percent Negro), 133 from South Division (almost exclusively white from low-income groups), and 107 from John Marshall (white from middle-income groups). In spite of these careful efforts to arrive at an even distribution of the races of students, those contacted for interviews were unequally distributed. The random selection was upset by students moving away (including into the armed forces) or their homes having been demolished. Of the 70 graduates interviewed, 18 were Negroes and 52 were white. Twenty of the white students were male and 32 female; the Negroes were equally divided between the sexes.

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1 Of the 250 respondents, 70 students and 60 mothers of small children were removed from consideration.

2. A second group consisted of persons whose names were taken from the active list in the sales or service job file of the Wisconsin Employment Service and the Youth Opportunity Center (the special office for applicants under age 21). Although their names remained in the active file, many of the individuals were not unemployed at the time they were interviewed.[2] Of the 76 persons interviewed, 58 were white and 18 Negro; 37 of the whites were female, and 14 Negroes were female. The age distribution was as follows: 18-21, 10 (one Negro); 21-40, 34 (14 Negroes); 41-50, 16 (three Negroes); 51-65, 11 (no Negroes); 65+, five (no Negroes). Thirty-three whites and ten Negroes were married; 11 whites and five Negroes had never been married.

3. In order to have a sample of workers who applied for jobs at the employment offices of Milwaukee firms, several employers were asked for a list of randomly selected names of persons who had applied for jobs, the sample to be divided between those rejected and those employed on an approximate 2:1 basis. The firms were chosen from a list furnished by the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council in order to avoid the a priori assumption by the workers that the employer discriminated.[3] Out of a total of 600 names, 54 persons were randomly

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2 It should be pointed out that the listing may be haphazard, that white-collar jobs may not be the only ones offered the applicants, and that they often obtain other jobs.

3 The following employers furnished lists: Boston Store, Marine Bank, Gimbels, Globe-Union, Inland Steel, Line Material, Manpower, First Wisconsin Bank, Milwaukee Journal, Sears, Schlitz, and Wisconsin Electric.

selected to be interviewed. Of these, 18 whites and four Negroes had been hired and 20 whites and 12 Negroes had been rejected. Only two of those employed were male, while among those rejected, six were male (four white and two Negroes). The largest percentage of both groups was between 50 and 60 years of age.

4. As a fourth category, we tried to obtain names of those unemployed persons who had received special training, especially the graduates of MDTA courses in the clerical and sales skill areas. All 183 persons who had completed these courses sometime during the past three years were included in the sample, but because they were so difficult to locate, we were able to interview only 34 of them (15 whites and 19 Negroes). Twenty-nine of those interviewed were female; 27 were in the 21-40 age category. The distribution by marital status was comparable to that of the total sample: virtually allwere either married or had never been married. In most cases their fathers or spouses were employed. Only three whites and five Negroes had not graduated from high school. The grades of the high school graduates had not been quite as good as those of the vocational trainees, but were quite acceptable. In general, this group was quite comparable to the vocational school graduates as far as demographic characteristics are concerned.

We had similar difficulty in locating for interviews a sample of the unemployed persons who had been selected by the Urban League for on-the-job

training; the League supplied us with the names, but none of the few respondents we could interview had completed training at the time of the interview. However, 21 other workers (12 whites and 19 Negroes) had had on-the-job training when interviewed. Respondents whose names were secured from other sources included a few who had gone to vocational school, had completed MDTA courses, or had had on-the-job training. While the sample for these training courses was much smaller than we had hoped for, we were able to get some indication of reactions to all three kinds of training.

For Negroes in the total sample, we found a statistically significant negative correlation between employment success and place of birth in the South or Border States (Index I, -.307; Index II, -.327; n = 54).[4] The explanation for the preponderance of females among the respondents (70 percent of the whites; 77 percent of the Negroes) can be found in the traditional nature of white-collar employment.

With regard to age, employed Negroes in the total sample, as well as in the subsample from the Employment Service files, seem to be somewhat older than whites (see Table 1). The Negro mode lies in the 21-40 age group, while there are more workers over 50 in the white group. It may well be that the barrier among whites lies in age, while race may be the barrier among Negroes. The age distribution found here does not correspond

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4 A similar result obtains for those born in a rural area or small town (I, -.278; II, -.292; n = 33) and for those attending high school in the South or Border States (Index III, -.375; n = 25). All Negro workers in the low-employment quartile were born in the South or Border States.

TABLE 1

Age of All Respondents

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
14-17.9 years			1	1							1	1
18-20.9 years	73	45	20	24	23	47	8	44	50	44	12	19
21-39.9 years	46	28	57	70	15	31	8	44	31	27	49	77
40-49.9 years	20	12	3	4	4	8	2	11	16	14	1	1
50-64.9 years	18	11	1	1	5	10			13	11	1	1
65 + years	6	4			2	4			4	4		
Total	163		82		49		18		114		64	

ERIC

to that in the 1960 Census of Population.

The larger percentage of Negroes than of whites in the over-21 age group might be explained by the special case of the white-collar labor market. Negroes may be slower in recognizing that this market is open to them than they are in believing the decline in discrimination in the blue-collar field; thus they might enter the white-collar field more gradually. The slowness of Negro boys to obtain clerical jobs, even after graduation from high school, may corroborate this point. It may take Negroes longer to establish themselves in the white-collar market.

Mobility among Negroes is greater than among whites. As fewer young Negroes qualify for student deferments, more may have been in the armed forces when we tried to locate them for interviews. We made the same attempts to contact young respondents of both races (high school, Youth Opportunity Center), but fewer young Negroes were in the sample when it was completed.

The results of the quartile distribution (Table 2) appear to reinforce these observations. The white top quartile, with better employment records, is younger than the bottom white quartile; for the under-40 age group, the percentages are 68 and 53, respectively, while they are 16 and 0 for the over-65 age group. The opposite tendency seems to prevail among Negro workers.

Approximately the same percentage of whites and Negroes reported

TABLE 2

Age by Race and Top and Bottom Quartiles

Age	Bottom Quartile				Top Quartile			
	White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18-21 years	3	16	2	18	5	26		
21-40 years	7	37	8	73	8	42	10	91
41-50 years	2	10			2	10		
51-65 years	4	21			4	21	1	9
66+ years	3	16						

that they were married (32 percent) or were never married (47 percent); only 5 and 9 percent, respectively, were divorced. This finding is counter to the general assumption that a larger percentage of Negroes than of whites are not now married or are divorced. An explanation might be that Negroes in the white-collar labor market are more likely than others to abide by the mores of society in general. The percentage of married respondents among successful workers is equally high in both races; the percentage never married is much lower, but the difference by race is not great.

Among Negro workers, there was a statistically significant negative relationship between employment success and the fact that the spouse was

employed (-.575 and -.567 for Indexes I and II; n = 27). The causal relationship is not clear; it could be that the spouse has to work if the respondent is unemployed or that he is less likely to work hard if the spouse is also employed. But a positive relationship seems to exist between a working mother and a respondent's work record: the respondent seems inclined to work if his mother does.[5]

Education

The most significant finding with regard to education is that the attitudes and behavior of whites and Negroes are very similar, especially given the fact that the schools from which they came were very different.[6] Although many of the Negroes had attended a larger number of grade schools than the whites, mainly in the South, they usually were able to compete rather successfully with their white colleagues, not only in school but also often in employment. Forty-one of the subsample of recent high school graduates entered the labor force upon graduation; all but three (one white and two Negroes) were employed at the time they were interviewed. Most of them had held jobs while they were in school, many of which they had found themselves; nearly half of them had obtained jobs by direct application to employers.

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5 This relationship is not as clear as the one relating to a spouse's employment. The improvement index is positively related to a mother's working occasionally in the white case (.310; n = 122), but the cell is too small to make the positive relationship to a mother's working statistically significant in the Negro case (.251; n = 17). In the latter instance, a figure of .320 would have been necessary to make it significant.

6 Many of these findings were worked out in detail and were incorporated in the Master's thesis of my research assistant, Mrs. Arlayne Weston.

Of the 38 recent high school graduates interviewed who had jobs, the Negroes, and especially Negro girls, had been slower in obtaining full-time jobs, but once the girls were hired, they were more stable in their jobs than were the boys. The kinds of jobs they were able to get is indicated by the girls' ability to obtain rather skilled clerical positions. The ability of Negro male high school graduates in the entire sample to obtain jobs is less than the ability of white graduates. With regard to attitude to schools, we found that not graduating from high school had a statistically significant negative effect on employment success among Negroes (Index III, -.376; n = 15), as the respondents themselves anticipated.

The type of job obtained by males of both races after graduation was often unskilled labor (65 percent of white boys, 73 percent of Negro boys), followed by unskilled clerical or sales (13 and 9 percent) and services (9 and 18 percent). No boy was hired for a skilled clerical job, while half the girls (50 and 43 percent) were. However, only male whites (13 percent) were able to obtain skilled or managerial jobs. Except for the last category, the similarity of experiences of the two racial groups is impressive.

The girls tended to take commercial courses in school, and about half of them considered the courses helpful in obtaining employment. About one-quarter of the boys considered high school industrial courses helpful. A somewhat larger percentage of Negroes than of whites (25 and 17 percent) felt that none of their high school courses helped. These

findings are supported by the course grades of those in the bottom and top quartiles; the grades in both commercial courses (among girls) and college preparatory courses were higher for those in the top quartile.

Tardiness during the last year in school seems to have been much more frequent among persons in the bottom quartile than among those in the top quartile. This finding may indicate that tardiness is predictive of poor employment performance, or it may simply indicate that the employer, as he reviews the record, considers it an indication of unreliability and therefore does not hire the student after graduation.

There are various indications, such as participation in high school activities and clubs, that the school is less helpful to the Negro male than to the female. He has lower grades, he usually does not go to college, and he receives less counseling. She receives more counseling, but she finds outside sources for obtaining employment--the Employment Service, relatives, or direct application--more useful than the schools. She waits longer to find employment and also does not do as well as any of the other groups of high school graduates as far as pay is concerned. As she has been trained in secretarial courses and has obtained a skilled secretarial job almost as often as her white counterpart, the reason for this pay differential is likely to be the actual or anticipated situation at work, including social relations. This finding is possibly the most glaring indication of a problem of social relations in the survey.

Training

Respondents who had had three types of training were interviewed about their training: (1) those who had taken a course in the vocational school voluntarily to better prepare themselves for jobs (35 whites and 20 Negroes); (2) graduates of the white-collar MDTA courses (15 whites and 19 Negroes): and (3) individuals who had had on-the-job experience (12 whites and 9 Negroes).

Vocational Training

The demographic characteristics of workers who had voluntarily taken a vocational course are of interest. Only 11 were male. The were somewhat older than the average age of the total sample: more whites were in the over-40 age group while the Negroes were primarily in the 21-40 age group. Their marital status corresponds closely to the figures for the total sample: less than 35 percent were married and less than 50 percent had never been married. In most cases the respondent's father was employed. All but eight were high school graduates; over 50 percent took the general course.

The most significant question asked of these respondents dealt with their feelings about each course they took. Among white workers, their prior feelings about how much the course would help them is negatively correlated; statistically significant only with the improvement factor (Index III, -.327; n = 34). With regard to their feelings following training that "having taken the course has helped," there is some indication

of a negative correlation with employment success.[7] Only 46 percent of the whites felt that the course had helped, while 58 percent of the Negroes believed that it had.

Six out of 23 workers were still in the first jobs they took after training (38 percent of the whites and 10 percent of the Negroes); 23 percent and 40 percent, respectively, had been in those jobs longer than a year. Almost all first jobs were in line with training. For those who had had more than one job, a later job in line with training was reported by a substantial majority of the white workers; about 60 percent of the Negro workers had later jobs related to their training.

The kinds of work done by those respondents who took voluntary training are summarized in the following tabulation:

	Clerical		Sales		Services	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Earliest	45%	43%	4%	7%	18%	36%
Second	27	22	7	17	24	33
Third	43	40	13	-	6	20
Latest	51	40	85	-	14	20

We are unable to explain why the occupational percentages vary as much as they do, nor can we be certain that all jobs reported were held after training.

While vocational education does not correlate in a statistically

7 The correlation is -.350; n = 13--not quite statistically significant.

significant way with employment success, the amount of time spent in full-time work over the past three years is greater for those who have had vocational education courses than for the total sample: 40 percent of the whites and 60 percent of the Negroes had more than one year of full-time work. The figures for part-time work over the same period were 29 percent for whites and 15 percent for Negroes.

The problem of securing jobs is more acute for Negroes than for whites. When we examined cases picked at random prior to racial identification, it appeared that Negroes predominated among the cases where training had not been too successful.[8] This finding indicates that the same barriers that stand in the way of Negroes in general in their efforts to obtain clerical jobs remain even after they have had vocational training.

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8 Key-punching, for example, was a popular course in a tight labor market, and some respondents, primarily white, secured jobs in this field. This course at least seemed to upgrade the status of graduates, even if not necessarily their income. For example, a woman of 30 worked as a sales clerk, took and IBM course, and, when interviewed, was working in the data processing department. A man was upgraded from railroad work to private secretary, a woman from factory piecework to IBM work, another (Negro) to a cashier's job, another from waitress to typist, another (Negro) from laundry presser to nurse, another from sales to key punch operator. A man worked in a bank, took a banking course, worked for a newspaper after military service, and, when interviewed, was doing computer programming for the newspaper. A middle-aged woman found a clerical job and was willing to pay for her course at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; she then took a higher level clerical job.

There are, of course, less positive cases: A nurse's aide (Negro) took a key-punching course and then was a hospital attendant. A former stock clerk (Negro) took a five-month welding course, a ten-month auto painting course, and a four-month masonry course (part of them in the Green Bay

MDTA Training

Most of the MDTA trainees enrolled in training courses after having been advised to do so by the Employment Service, unlike the vocational students whose enrollment was voluntary. Virtually all of them, of both races, felt that the training would be helpful. After the course, however, only 69 percent of the white workers and 44 percent of the Negroes felt that it had actually helped. Before-training belief is negatively correlated with employment success: the higher the expectation, the poorer the employment record (Indexes I and II, -.712 and -.752; n = 16; statistically significant). The negative direction seems also to be true for after-course opinion, but there are too few cases to make the findings statistically significant (.215; n = 8, and .218; n = 10).

The percentages for positive after-course reaction of MDTA trainees (69 percent white, 44 percent Negro) are almost the reverse of those of vocational students (46 percent white, 58 percent Negro), an interesting contrast given the fact that MDTA was instituted to help the disadvantaged. An explanation might be that the Negroes' experience with help from MDTA courses left them disillusioned, while vocational training seemed to help

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Reformatory); when interviewed he was playing in a band. While he said he has never tried for a training-related job, he still felt that the training discipline had helped him. A middle-aged woman who took a general office training course was working as a waitress. A 27-year-old Negro who worked in low level service jobs, after taking auto mechanic and drill press operator courses, was told that without a high school diploma or experience, garages could not hire him; he was working as a butcher's helper.

them more than they had expected. By quartiles, the top group of Negro respondents was overwhelmingly pessimistic about the help MDTA provided, while three-fourths of the white workers in the top group felt that the course had helped. In the bottom quartile, two-thirds of the whites felt it had not helped, while the Negroes were divided in their opinions. These findings indicate that the Negro respondents had less confidence in MDTA training than might have been expected.

Twenty-four of the 34 MDTA trainees were employed at the time they were interviewed; only four were looking for jobs. Sixteen had been employed full-time for at least a year out of the past three. Of 26 persons who had been trained for clerical positions, 18 (nine of each race) were so employed in their first jobs, but the number of clerical positions declined among reported subsequent jobs. The respondents seemed to recognize their first job as being in line with their training, but they did not seem to be as certain about later jobs. The MDTA training seems to have been of more help than the respondents' attitudes would indicate, but the results do not seem to be as good as those of vocational training.[9]

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9 "The respondent said she took the general office course which was suggested by the WSES counselor, because there would be openings soon. She would have preferred to take a steno course, but none was open. Some of her friends took MDTA clerical, cooking, and waitress courses, but they didn't get jobs either." "I got the job not because of the course but because I was a sales clerk before I had the sales course." "She feels the training did not help her get a job in the area of training." "She took general office training, although she would have liked also to take the sewing

The impression is that MDTA training does not arouse great expectations among the trainees, does not result in any more training-related placements than might be expected at random, and is not particularly helpful to Negroes for whom it was largely designed. The reasons may be manifold: the kind of training workers are assigned to, the spirit of the classroom, the failure of placement personnel to make certain that the trainees are sent to offices where there are openings, the lack of immediate follow-up. The survey does not supply the answers, but the fact that the general demographic characteristics of the voluntary and the MDTA trainees are comparable seems to indicate that the difference in the results lies in the training and placement procedures. One would also be inclined to speculate that, while the results for Negroes were not good in either training situation, voluntary training offers the trainee the opportunity to select a course in which he is interested and therefore one from which he has higher expectations of results. The findings on MDTA training seem to contradict our hypothesis.

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course, but it was filled up. Has not yet gotten a training-related job but believes she will"(the interview was four months after completing the course).

The result of training, gleaned from interviews, are not as poor as the above comments indicate. A male Negro took a welding course and got a welding job, but he held it for only three months. A Negro girl became a typist after a one-year clerical course; another got a secretarial job. A white woman became a clerk-typist after a three-months course. A white girl became a key-punch operator following a course. Seven other positive reports came from this group, only one of which was from a Negro. Insofar as wage information was available, productivity clearly increased where better jobs were obtained: double the hourly rate, one-third more on a monthly rate, an hourly increase of one-third, from $1.00 an hour to $360 a month, from $81.25 to $260, etc.

On-the-Job Training

For purposes of the survey, on-the-job training was defined as formal training for a definite period of time, while production rather than training is the firm's primary concern, not a brief break-in period on a specific job under temporary supervision of a fellow-worker. Although the names of on-the-job trainees were supplied by the Urban League, none of those who had had on-the-job training mentioned the Urban League as the source of referral. Seventeen out of 21 persons in the subsample mentioned the employer as the source, an indication that many of them were already employed at the time of referral. While only ten said they were hired before training and nine responded that they were hired after training, the possibility is that in the latter cases the employers wanted to retain the option of rejecting the trainee if his performance was unsatisfactory. This possibility is supported by the fact that almost all of the workers stated that their training and job corresponded, and the majority of both was in the clerical field. Forty-two percent of the whites and 56 percent of the Negroes had

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But contrary results also were reported: A Negro woman took a key-punch course but was unable to get a related job. Another, after taking a clerk-cashier course, was offered a job at $1.25 an hour--less than she had earned as a salad girl; she returned to her former occupation. Another was unable to get a training-related job after 2-1/2 years of clerical training because "she didn't have work experience." A young Negro woman took a year's course in general office work, but "No one would hire me, as the jobs I was sent to required experience. So I just gave up looking for office work." A white woman stated frankly

worked more than two years in their most recent jobs; 67 percent had been in their jobs more than one year, although the absolute numbers were only 8 and 16.

The characteristics of this subsample seemed to be similar to those of the other two groups of trainees, but their employment records were more impressive. Part of the explanation may be that with on-the-job training, placement and training are almost simultaneous; if the worker is selected for training and does not fail, he is virtually hired. The crucial decision is to admit the worker to training. In other institutional training methods, admission to training and hiring by an employer are separate activities, so that it is quite possible for an individual to be fully trained and still unemployed.

The results of formal education and training may have another reason. Professor Peter Doeringer, speaking of "the apparent irrelevance of education and skills," finds that it is the quality of the job which is decisive for stability and employment.[10] We have seen above that even among the supposedly higher status white-collar occupations there are many unskilled and boring jobs. (In fact, it is

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that her inability to find a job was a result of her overweight. Two Negro women blamed discrimination for their inability to get jobs following general office and sales-cashier courses.

10 Peter Doeringer, ed., "Low-Income Labor Markets and Urban Manpower Programs: A Critical Assessment" (Report to Office of Manpower Research, U.S. Department of Labor, January 1969), pp. 111 ff.

this aspect which makes social relations at work so important.) Doeringer thus assumes, in line with Michael Piore's theory of a dual labor market (see below, p. 42), that the disadvantaged can, without undue difficulty, find on their own routine, dull, or other secondary jobs; they will thus remain in any specific job only if it one proving to be of superior quality and interest, or better paying, or promising advancement. "Current programs for improving vocational skills among the urban disadvantaged should be viewed with some skepticism . . . most employers value reliability and ability to learn above limited occupational skills when seeking to fill low-skilled or semi-skilled entry level jobs." Only if training promises interesting employment, the trained "responds to the training in a way which justifies the investment: in this respect, on the job training is ideal."[11]

Counseling

Respondents were asked about the help provided by various counseling agencies: school counselor, teacher, vocational school counselor, Employment Service counselor. They were also queried about any advice received from parents and relatives as well as from neighbors

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11 Peter Doeringer, "Programs to Employ the Disadvantaged: A Labor Market Perspective," in Doeringer, Programs to Employ the Disadvantaged, p. 259. Also contained in Proceedings, Industrial Relations Research Association, 21st Annual Winter Meeting, December, 1968, pp. 257 ff.

and friends.

Correlations between answers to the scaled question, "How much did counseling help?" and the employment success of respondents were statistically significant: the answers of white respondents with regard to school counselors correlated negatively with Index II (-.318; n = 47); the answers of Negro respondents with regard to school counselors correlated negatively with Indexes I and III (-.317 and -.335; n = 25). The races differed in their answers with respect to the vocational school counselor. For whites, the correlation with Index I is positive (.216; n = 47), while for Negroes the correlations with Indexes I and III are again negative (-.385 and -.322; n = 18). All of these correlations are statistically significant. In answer to the question of whether school counselors were useful, 43 percent of the whites said they were not, while only 12 percent of the Negro students so stated. The summaries of the answers to both questions, by race, are shown in Table 3. The scaled question on school counselors is significant between .20 and 1.0, while the one on vocational counselor is significant between .30 and .20. Questioned about the help of teachers resulted in a statistically significant test between .10 and .05.

The correlation of Negro responses concerning counseling by the Employment Service is negative with Index II of employment success (-.241; n = 36); the correlation of white responses is not significant.

TABLE 3

How Much Did Counseling Help?

	WIS. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE				SCHOOL COUNSELOR				VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR				TEACHER			
	White		Negro		White		Negro		White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A lot	19	33	15	42	13	28	13	50	9	37	9	50	23	47	14	56
A little	28	48	18	50	17	36	11	42	9	37	6	33	20	41	8	32
Hardly at all	11	19	3	8	17	36	2	8	6	25	3	27	6	12	3	12
Total	58		36		47		26		24		18		49		25	

The chi square test on that part of Table 3 is significant between .10 and .10. While there was a significant difference between the races, it does not appear that counseling is overwhelmingly responsible for employment success.

A comparison between institutional counseling activities and those of parents and relatives and neighbors and friends is carried out in Appendix Table A-1. Of the four institutional sources, only teachers and the Employment Service appear to be important; school and vocational school counselors are rated lower than parents and friends. The difference between the races does not appear to indicate much of a trend except that vocational school counseling is regarded as comparatively more helpful by Negro females and Employment Service counseling by Negro males. The correlations are not statistically significant.

Job Search

Referral

How do individual workers go about looking for a job? The respondents were asked on whose referral they applied for each of their last four jobs and how they obtained them.

As Appendix Table A-2 indicates, application directly at the employer's office was reported most frequently for both races (about one-third of the cases). The Employment Service is the second most important method

for Negro workers, while it is only the fourth in importance for whites. Conversely, answering an advertisement ranks second among white workers but only fourth for Negroes. "Friends and relatives" ranked third and "somebody working there" was fifth for both races; the percentages are approximately the same when taken separately or together. The essential difference between the races on referrals is that a greater percentage of Negroes than whites use the Employment Service and more whites than Negroes respond to ads, but the chi square test indicates that the difference is not significant. What needs explanation is not the fact that the Employment Service is used more by Negroes, as had been assumed, but that it is not their most important source of jobs; in fact, this source accounts for less than 19 percent of the jobs as contrasted with the 32 percent figure for direct application to the employer. This result seems to bear our Lurie and Ryack's 1964 findings that 11 percent of Negro new immigrants use the public Employment Service as compared with 49 percent making direct plant applications.[12]

It would appear that there is considerably less reluctance on the part of the Negro job-seeker to present himself directly at the employer's office than to answer an ad. He may go only after he has found out that the employer does not discriminate, or he may be willing to be looked

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12 Melvin Lurie and Elton Ryack, "Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search: A Case Study," Southern Economic Journal (July 1966), pp. 81 ff.

over and have the decision made after a personal encounter, on the premise that the personal encounter would make it more difficult for an employer to refuse him a job if he had any intention of discriminating. If the Employment Service refers him to a job, he might be placed in the same situation. This point is at some variance with Lurie and Ryack's conclusion that the Employment Service tends to "maintain existing discriminatory patterns," as "the Negro job-seeker is likely to be referred to jobs where there is little chance of rejection, i.e., to Negro jobs."

Finally, a slightly different response was received in answer to the question of what the worker would do first in looking for a job (Appendix Table A-3). Here newspaper ads were reported most frequently by both races and sexes, followed by the Employment Service among Negro females and by direct application among whites; the percentages for the Employment Service and for direct application are close for white workers. In most instances, the differences between the races are not significant when the chi square test is applied. The answers to this question, however, simply indicate where the respondents believe they might look first rather than how they actually found particular jobs.

When the sample is divided by quartiles, similar results emerge. While half of the Negroes in the low quartile look for jobs through ads and the other half go to the Employment Service, the Employment Service

is the source for just over a quarter of the high quartile and direct application is mentioned by 18 percent of these respondents. A similar question, "How do you hear about companies looking for people?" asked of white-collar females, as reported by Sheppard and Belitsky, resulted in a somewhat different sequence: Employment Service, newspapers, friends and relatives, other workers.[13] For blue-collar workers, friends and relatives ranked first. However, when white-collar females were asked which techniques they actually used, the sequence was: newspaper ads, Employment Service, private employment agencies, friends and relatives, direct application to company. When male and female blue-collar workers were asked about the method they actually used, the only difference in the sequence was that a smaller percentage used the private agency. After losing their jobs, however, women workers in both groups went first to the State Employment Service.

For many workers, the desire to "obtain the job themselves" is strong, and this may influence the answers to the referral question. The employer may never receive the referral card given the worker by the Employment Service so that the latter has no way of knowing that a job has been filled; therefore the Employment Service may refer another worker to the same employer for the same job. The fact that the second

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13 Harold L. Sheppard and Harvey Belitsky, The Job Hunt (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 170 ff. Their survey was based on interviews with registrants with the Employment Service in Erie, Pa., a depressed labor market. The character of the sample might partially explain the kind of responses received.

worker is told by the employer that the vacancy is filled leads him to blame either the Employment Service for being poorly informed or the employer for discriminating. Either assumption influences the worker's attitude and may be reflected in his answers to interview questions.

The white-collar labor market has only recently opened up to Negroes, so that they may only now be beginning to believe that there is less discrimination in that labor market. This development may lead to an alteration of their attitudes over time and may well change their preferred method of locating jobs. The reliance on the Employment Service is still pre-eminent, but their inclination to apply directly at an employer's office is significant. The fact that the percentage of Negro males using this method exceeds that of white males (52 to 43 percent) may indicate that the Negroes are beginning to believe that jobs are opening up for them. Responding to an ad resulted in jobs for Negroes in one-seventh of the cases, only a little less than the number who were referred by friends and relatives, the time-honored method for Negroes with only a limited circle of acquaintances in the community at large. These findings do not support our hypothesis regarding differences between the races in methods used in job-search, as methods other than the Employment Service become increasingly important. At least in a tight labor market, the methods of job-search used by Negroes are tending to become very similar to

those used by whites, as their assumption of employer bias seems to be decreasing.

This tendency is reinforced by the findings when the sample is divided into quartiles. The query as to whether the job-search was easy was answered much more affirmatively by Negroes in the upper quartiles than by those in the lower quartile. Similarly, with regard to the difficulty of the test administered by the Employment Service (generally considered easier by whites than by Negroes), among those in the low quartile it was considered "not bad" by 43 percent of the whites and 67 percent of the Negroes and "easy" by the same percentage of whites and by half that number of Negroes, In the high quartile, the percentages responding "not bad" decreased to 30 and 20 percent for whites and Negroes, respectively, while the "easy" answer rose to 70 percent for whites and 80 percent for Negroes. Pointing in the same direction is the answer to the question of whether job promotion is expected. In the low quartile, 59 percent of each race responded "gone as far as I can"; an expectation for promotion was indicated by 33 percent of the whites and 40 percent of the Negroes. In the high quartile, on the other hand, 65 percent of the Negroes but only half the whites expected promotion, and only a quarter of the Negroes and 44 percent of the whites responded that they did not expect to progress.

These findings seem to indicate that the top group of Negroes exhibits the kinds of attitudes which are responsible for good job performance, and that as whites and Negroes move toward objectively better job performances, they move closer together in attitudes and expectations and their differences tend to blur.

Also of interest is the way high school students obtained jobs. Pregraduation jobs were obtained largely by applying directly to the employer (45 percent for whites, 66 percent for Negroes) or through friends and relatives (36 and 16 percent). White girls were the only ones who obtained jobs through the school (22 percent) while Negro girls used the Employment Service (33 percent). Direct application predominated as a way of getting a job after graduation, with only a 10 percent difference between the races (see Appendix Table A-4). Among the male Negroes, this method is followed by the Employment Service (the special Youth Opportunity Center for young people); the Employment Service was not used very much by whites and especially not by white girls who seemed to prefer referral by friends and relatives. The sources for jobs of this group differ somewhat from those of adults: Youngsters of both races rely much more on direct application at the employer's office than do adults; the whites and only slightly more Negro youth rely less on the Employment Service and considerably less

on advertisements than do the adults. However, the general tendencies are much the same for this group as for the sample as a whole.

Wisconsin State Employment Service

Fifty-nine percent of the Negroes knew enough about the Employment Service as a source of job referrals to go there on their own, as did 49 percent of the whites. The correlations of these percentages with those of the public school as a source of referral (17 percent white, 7 percent Negro) as well as with those of relatives and friends as a source (19 percent white, 25 percent Negro) are statistically significant, the former between .05 and .02 and the latter between .30 and .20.

Seventy-two percent of the whites and 88 percent of the Negro respondents registered with the Employment Service, and most of them returned there several times (see Table 4). The mode is four times or more. The difference between race and sex on this item is statistically significant between .50 and .30. There also is a significant negative correlation between returning to the Employment Service more than once and employment success Indexes I and III in the Negro case (-.418 and -.453; n = 56). More than one-quarter of the Negro workers, compared to one-eighth of the whites, had registered as early as 1962. Close to half of the white respondents did not register until 1966, while only 28 percent of the Negroes registered this late, a finding which reinforces the earlier statement that Negro workers were more inclined than whites to look to the Employment Service as a source for job referrals.

TABLE 4

Number of Times Returning to WSES-YOC

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One time	12	11	13	19	1	3	3	23.5	11	15	10	18
Two times	22	21	10	14.5	9	26			13	18	10	18
Three times	12	11	10	14.5	5	15	2	15	7	10	8	15
Four or more times	32	30	23	34	11	32	4	31.5	21	29	19	35
Did not go back	26	25	8	12	7	21	2	15	19	26	6	11
Several	2	2	4	6	1	3	2	15	1	1	2	3
Total	106		68		34		13		72		55	

It is interesting to note that almost one-third of the respondents of both races gave as a reason for not registering that they were unfamiliar with the Employment Service; the explanation probably lies in the small proportion of the total sample who failed to register. More than half of those who did not register reported that they had already located jobs. The difference between race and sex on these two questions, as set out in the following tabulation, is statistically significant between .50 and .30.

Reasons for Not Registering with the Employment Service

	Total				Male				Female			
	White		Negro		White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Located job	22	55	17	62	7	70	4	80	15	51	13	58
Unfamiliar with WSES	12	31	8	30	3	30	1	20	9	31	7	32
Other	5	1	10	3	-	-	-	-	5		2	
Total	39		27		10		5		29		22	

The respondents' attitudes with regard to the Employment Service were probed in various questions. Only a minority said that the Employment Service helped them get a job, although, as expected, the percentage of Negroes giving this response was higher than that of whites (27 percent whites, 37 percent Negro). The percentage is significantly higher for Negro males (64) than for any other group. The principal answers to what more the WSES could have done to help were "could have taken more time"

TABLE 5

What More Could WSES Have Done

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing more	1	4	1	4	1	8					1	5
Take more time with me	13	54	9	39	5	42			8	62	9	45
Followed up on me	5	21	6	26	3	25	1	33	2	15	5	25
Given me leads	5	21	6	23	2	17	2	67	3	23	3	15
Send to courses												
Return to discrimination			2	8							2	10
Companies should have hiring policy					1	8						
Total	24		23		12		3		13		20	

and "could have followed up on me" and "given me leads" (Table 5). These answers were statistically significant between .20 and .10. It can be assumed that these were the answers given by successful workers, as, at least in the case of white respondents, there is a statistically significant correlation between the responses and employment success (Index I, +.804; Index III, +.800; n = 24). In the answer about the lack of follow-up, the respondents were noting an important deficiency in the Employment Service system: After the Employment Service refers a worker to a job, it does not know whether he took it, how long he stayed, what he did later, and whether or not he later became unemployed again. This lack of follow-up compares unfavorably even with the follow-up of MDTA trainees who are queried three times by postcard during the first year after completing a course.

We were interested in comparing the profiles of those workers who said that the Employment Service helped them get a job (31 whites, 27 Negroes) and those who said it did not (83 whites, 45 Negroes); a special computer run provided the information (see Appendix Table A-5). A much larger number of whites than Negroes said it did not help, as might be expected. About half of the whites (with both positive and negative feelings about the WSES) had lived in Milwaukee all their lives, while only one-eighth and one-sixth of the Negroes, respectively, were

Milwaukee natives. One-third of the Negroes had attended high school in the South or Border States, as compared with half who had attended high school in Wisconsin and Michigan; 90-95 percent of the whites had attended midwestern schools. Neither place of high school attendance nor residence seemed to differentiate significantly between the opposing attitudes toward the WSES, a finding which is interesting though not surprising, given the fact that the percentage of Negroes in the Milwaukee population had increased from 3 to 10 percent between 1950 and 1960 and that most of the immigration was from the South. This result partially bears out Lurie's findings that new immigrant Negroes from the South relied more heavily on the public Employment Service than did whites or Negroes who had been in the North. He also found that direct plant application was the primary technique used by both races, as we found in this survey, but he points out that for Negroes the informal method of obtaining job information through relatives and friends "perpetuates the existing pattern of employment . . . concentrated in the poorer-paying, less desirable occupations."[14]

The difference in attitudes, depending on whether or not the respondents were currently employed, is of some magnitude. Of those currently employed, 31 percent of the whites felt that the Employment Service had

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14 Lurie and Ryack, "Racial Differences . . . ," p. 92.

been helpful in getting them jobs, as compared with 34 percent of the Negroes. Among those unemployed, on the other hand, 44 percent of the Negroes still felt positively about the Employment Service, but only 18 percent of the whites shared that opinion. Race apparently made a great deal more difference than did employment, with the Negroes feeling more positive than the whites about the Employment Service. Interestingly enough, whether or not they were married seemed to make a difference for Negroes in their attitudes toward the WSES. There was scarcely any difference between the percentages of married whites and Negroes who felt that the Employment Service helped; among the "never marrieds," only 21 percent of the white group but 44 percent of the Negroes were positive in their attitudes. The tendency seems to be the opposite by sex; a larger percentage of white than Negro women felt that the WSES helped.

Another attitudinal question dealt with the respondent's opinion of the attention paid him at the WSES as an indication of the Employment Service's concern. For both races and for females, the slow decrease in percentages from the top to the bottom of the scale in Table 6 probably indicates that the respondents perceived a high level of interest on the part of the Employment Service. The correlations between the levels are statistically significant between .10 and .05. The answers to the

TABLE 6

Indicated Interest in Respondent

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very much	41	36	28	40	10	26.5	4	29	31	40	24	43
Somewhat	37	32	23	33	14	38	6	43	23	29	17	30
Not much	24	21	11	16	8	22	3	21	16	21	8	14
Not at all	12	10	8	11	4	11	1	7	8	10	7	13
Some were, some weren't	1	1			1	3.5						
Total	115		70		37		14		78		56	

question about the number of people the respondents saw at the WSES (Table 7) are statistically significant between the levels of .10 and .05. The attention shown the white workers was somewhat greater, as more of them saw three or more persons than did Negro workers.

The respondents' comments about the Employment Service are instructive, especially with respect to the perception of racial discrimination by a number of workers. Some of the comments were: "They did not help me. They just sent me to any old place to get rid of me" (white worker). "They did not try to help. Well, they said I had no experience" (Negro). "He said they would look, and as I never got anything, they weren't putting forth much effort" (white). "He did not help but discouraged me. The counselor told me I was too old and too dumb" (white, 41, and working as an accountant). "The types of jobs I was looking for were skilled jobs, and the Employment Service did not have any of these jobs. My interests were ignored" (white). Even more significant was the comment: "They need a better set-up. They don't really help you too much--they don't counsel; they just run through job lists. Some went all out; others did very little. What is needed is better interviewers" (Negro).

Others appeared to have more understanding of the Employment Service: "I was limited because I did not graduate from high school.

TABLE 7

How Many People Talked to at WSES-YOC

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	44	38	30	43	14	38	4	29	30	38	26	46
Two	37	32	25	36	6	16	5	35.5	31	40	20	36
Three	16	14	4	6	9	24			7	9	4	7
Four or more	16	14	10	14	8	22	5	35.5	8	10	5	9
Several, more than one	2	2	1	1					2	3	1	2
Total	115		70		37		14		78		56	

I did not go back to the Employment Service" (white). "I think there should be better understanding between the Employment Service and the employers" (white, who did not accept several jobs to which she was referred). "Well, they looked up jobs for me and sent me out to different places, but I never got a job as a result of it. I don't think it was their fault; it's these companies who won't give you a chance" (Negro). "They did their best and tried to find something I could do" (unemployed white). "They sent me to places where I feel I was not qualified to work. These were A-1 places and I am not in the $90-a-week class. And you really have to be well qualified and know something, especially if you a Negro. You have to be smarter than the whites before they'll hire you."

Some workers spoke frankly in terms of discrimination: "It looked like they were prejudiced--not the workers but the supervisors. The whites worked on one side, the Negroes on the other." "The interviewer was frank with me, as he sent me to these places. He said they couldn't guarantee me a job at any of these places, but that I could try." "My girl friend and I went . . . and filled out applications along with a white woman. She was hired and we were told there was no opening and they would call us. Although there are a few colored girls working there, I don't think they want too many. You can sense they don't want you." "They wouldn't hire me. They would say the job was filled. I think it's

because I'm a Negro. I think the Employment Service could have sent me to places that would have hired me. They know just about which will hire Negroes and those that will not."

Employment Experience

Labor Force

What, then, was the actual experience of these Milwaukee workers in their efforts to obtain jobs? Although the intention had been to include unemployed persons in the sample, only about 30 percent (43 whites, 27 Negroes) were unemployed at the time of the interviews; only 13 percent of those in the labor force and 45 percent of those not currently employed were looking for work when interviewed (20 whites, 12 Negroes).

All of the unemployed respondents were asked what reasons kept them from looking for work (Table 8). Among the reasons cited were that they were needed at home or that they wanted to stay in school. Two of the less obvious reasons stand out: "I did not know what job to look for" and "I thought I did not qualify." While a slightly larger percentage of whites than Negroes made the former statement, the 55 workers making the second explanation were quite unevenly distributed between the races--18.5 percent of the Negroes and 28 percent of the whites. The sex distribution corresponds to the racial one. This table is statistically significant between .80 and .70.

TABLE 8

Reasons for Respondent Not Looking for Work

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lack babysitter	10	7.3	20	21.7			1	6	10	10	19	26
Lack clothing	6	4.4	2	2.2	1	2			5	5	2	3
Couldn't find office of employment	2	1.5	7	7.6	1	2	3	18	1	1	4	5
Thought I didn't qualify	38	27.7	17	18.5	11	24	2	12	27	23	15	20
Sudden illness	9	6.6	7	7.6	3	6	1	6	8	8	6	8
Needed at home	17	12.4	6	6.5	3	6			14	15	6	8
Wanted to stay in school	10	7.3	8	8.7	6	13	2	12	6	6	6	8
Didn't know what to look for	25	18.2	14	15.2	13	29	5	29	12	13	9	12
Jobs didn't pay enough	20	14.6	10	10.9	7	16	3	18	13	14	7	9
Total[a]	137		92		45		17		96		74	

a More than one reason given by many respondents.

These results are contrary to expectations. Our data point away from the general assumption that the Negro worker is the one with little self-confidence. It is possible that because his expectation was lower, he gave other reasons for not looking for work in an effort to avoid blaming discrimination.

Responses to other questions seem to bear out the results summarized in Table 8. As for the difficulty in finding a job, frequent answers were "lacked the right skills" and "lacked proper training" (Appendix Table A-6). The number of white respondents giving these answers far exceeded the number of Negroes (29 to 14 percent for the former, and 26 to 17 percent for the latter). Similarly, more whites than Negroes gave "lack of qualification" as the reason why the WSES did not help them. This seeming paradox may be explained as different reactions to the same facts. It may be that Negro workers blamed discrimination without expressing it. While lack of training and qualifications is readily admitted by whites, Negroes are aware of the variety of other reasons associated with the factor of "qualification." Even if they improve their skills, they expect to face other barriers. The fact that the percentage of Negroes who said they "gave up looking" is twice that of whites giving the same answer may be an indication of this expectation (Appendix Table A-6). If the answers "no opening," "not wanted personally," and "gave up looking" are combined, the percentage of Negroes giving these answers far

exceeds that of whites (49 to 34 percent).

Answers to why a job offered was not taken by a respondent (Table 9) are both instructive and statistically significant (between .30 and .20). In general, the reasons given by both races are quite similar, indicating that their behavior is comparable when they are considering actual jobs. Sheppard and Belitsky, in their study of bule-collar workers in a depressed labor market, showed that less than one-fifth of their sample had turned down any jobs.[15]

On the other hand, an interesting contrast is provided by the reason the employer gave for not hiring a worker and the respondent's perception of the real reason. While the mode of the employer's reason for both races was "would let the respondent know" (more than one-third) which, as with "no vacancies," may disguise real reasons (Table 10), the items "lacked experience" and "lacked skills" appeared in both the employers' reasons and the respondents' perceptions (Table 11). We examined the significance of the relationship between the two, both among the employers' reasons and the respondents' perceptions of them. Both were found significant between .10 and .05. The employers' reasons contrasted

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15 They differentiate between reasons lying with the company and those with the worker himself("not sure I'd get the job," "not sure I was qualified"). Fifty-one percent gave the company as the reason (48 percent male, 65 percent female), and only 8 percent found it in themselves (47 percent had a job or expected to be called back to their previous job). Sixty percent of the skilled and semiskilled found the reason in the company, as compared to 33 percent of the unskilled.

TABLE 9

Why Job Offered Was Not Taken

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Wages too low	15	24	5	28	6	40	3	75	9	19	2	14
Hours wrong	5	8			2	13			3	6		
Location of job wrong	3	5.2	3	17	1	7			2	5	3	21
Type of work	21	33.3	6	33	4	27	1	25	17	36	5	36
Already have better job	18	29.5	4	22	2	13			16	33	4	29
Total	62		18		15		4		47		14	

TABLE 10

Reasons Employer Gave for Not Hiring Respondent

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lacked experience	31	13	23	17	11	14	5	17	20	11	18	16
Age	32	14	10	7	10	12	2	7	22	13	8	7
Would let you know	79	34	55	40	25	31	10	33	54	31	45	40
Overqualified	14	6	1	1	2	2			12	7	1	0
No vacancies	53	23	33	24	16	20	7	23	37	21	26	23
Lacked skills	20	8	15	4	7	9	5	17	13	7	10	9
Would be drafted	5	2	1	1	6	7	1	3	1	0		
Other					4	5			15	19	3	3
Total	234		138		81		30		173		111	

TABLE 11

Reasons for Not Being Hired as Perceived by Worker

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lacked experience	18	23	10	21	9	38	3	50	9	17	7	17
Age	37	47	5	10	10	42			27	50	5	12
Lacked skills	11	14	2	4	3	12			8	14	2	5
Would be drafted	3	4			1	4			2	4		
No openings	6	8	4	9					6	11	4	9
Employer found someone else more qualified	2	3			1	4			1	2		
Over-qualified												
Discrimination	1	1	27	56			3	50	1	2	24	57
Total	78		48		24		6		54		42	

13 and 17 percent, respectively, for whites and Negroes in the case of experience, and 8 and 4 percent, respectively, for missing skills. The workers' perception was that lack of experience was responsible in 23 and 21 percent of the cases, and lack of skill in 14 and 4 percent, respectively. On these two points, the workers appeared to be tougher on themselves than were the employers. Age was mentioned by the employers as the reason in 23 and 24 percent of the cases, but believed by the workers in only 8 and 9 percent. Fifty-four percent of the whites believed that the employer "meant what he said," but only 32 percent of the Negroes were of that opinion. Fifty-six percent of the Negro workers gave "discrimination" as the reason why they were not offered jobs, and almost as many suggested racial issues as the reason why the employer did not mean what he said. These items were mentioned in only a little over 1 percent of the white cases. These findings indicate that Negro workers are more inclined to feel that discrimination is at work than to believe what the employer offers as a reason for turning down an applicant.

One special group of workers with a slightly different employment status should be mentioned. In addition to those unemployed and looking for work, there were those who were employed but looking for another job. These individuals could be upwardly mobile, or they may be workers who are underemployed, although "underemployment" is difficult to define. In some cases where workers had been trained for one kind

of job and were working in another, we can objectively assume that they were underemployed. On the other hand, if a worker felt subjectively that he could do a better job or that he should get more money, it is possible to assume that he was underemployed, although there were too few who gave this kind of response to any of our questions to make it possible to draw general conclusions.

Among the 170 respondents, only 18 whites and 19 Negroes said they were looking for other jobs, in spite of the fact that it would have been easy for them to claim that they were looking, had they wanted to impress the interviewer.

The following labor force groups were identifiable in our study: (1) Those employed, including a rather small group looking for other jobs. (2) Those who turned down a job for reasons other than that they already had one--again a small group. (3) Those not looking for work because they desired training or to go to school, for reasons in their domestic situation, or because they lacked qualifications. The reasons for not seeking jobs may include appearance or personal and social acceptance; many attributed the real reason to discrimination. (4) Within the third group, those who had left the labor force. Their perceived lack of qualifications may have driven them out, especially if they suspected covert discrimination. They may have become discouraged after several disappointments.

These phenomena were classified differently in the Greenleigh study,[16] undertaken at about the same time as our survey. The Greenleigh sample, in contrast to ours, was polled with the intention of drawing only men and women actually unemployed. It did not try to restrict the respondents to a particular occupation or segment of the labor market.

The study classified those not working in four groups: (1) Women with child-care responsibilities. They could in most cases be moved into the labor market if child-care facilities were available. (2) Older workers who had not worked for quite a while and often lacked salable skills. These people often have dropped out of the labor force but are sometimes still counted, as they are registered with the Employment Service (this kind of situation was responsible for the older white workers in our sample).

Greenleigh's other two groups seem to correspond to our group with poor skills and/or poor motivation, differentiated between (3) those young people who are in and out of the labor market, have recently worked, but whose limited skill gives them poor bargaining power, and (4) those with lack of skill and/or work experience, who are either recent immigrants looking for work or have become unemployed recently. Training and services could make them part of the labor force.[17] Barriers

16 Greenleigh Associates, Inc., A Study: Those Not Working in a Tight Labor Market, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (New York: Greenleigh Associates, January 1967).

17 Ibid., pp. 95 ff.

to employability due to race may, of course, prove a very important reason for not being in the labor force, but the subjective conviction that the employer attitude has changed is a prerequisite before some Negro workers will re-enter the labor market. The study states that "most of those individuals . . . who are not working and want to work . . . are not actively seeking work . . . . For most, major impediments will need to be overcome before they can move into the active labor force."[18] Many of those registered with WSES have a "limited potential for employment . . . in that they would not obtain or accept year-round, full-time work, or because they do not have the skills required by the employer."[19]

Length of Working Time

The period of time workers spent in each of the four most recent positions and the difference between the races in the duration of jobs are recorded in Table 12. The effect of personal problems or difficulties on the job due to the attitudes of the workers will be discussed in the next section. Cumulating the time periods for all four jobs, we find a statistically significant correlation between .70 and .50. (The duration of all four jobs in summarized in Appendix Table A-7.)

The Negro mode is in the 1-3 month category, while the white mode

18 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

19 Ibid., p. 65.

TABLE 12

Cumulative Time Periods Workers in Four Jobs

	White		Negro	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than one month	52	7	14	7
1-3 months	81	17	63	29
3-6 months	96	20	49	23
6-9 months	37	7.5	16	7
9-12 months	23	5	9	4
1-2 years	68	14	25	12
2-3 years	43	9	18	8
3+ years	99	20.5	21	10
Total	479		215	

is at the other extreme, in the 3+ years category. It is apparent from the table that whites are more likely to stay on jobs, and that the longer the time period, the greater the discrepancy between the races. As these discrepancies increase, while the number of workers declines (Appendix Table A-7), it becomes clear that the staying power of Negroes becomes less and the difference is especially pronounced in the last job. There is, in fact, some indication of "job-jumping." At the other extreme, the discrepancy in the 3+ years category can be seen clearly, and it is even greater if the 2-3 and

3+ years periods are combined: 24 vs. 15 percent; 29 vs. 19 percent; 34 vs. 26 percent; and 36 vs. 7 percent.

Professor Piore explains this phenomenon, in line with Doeringer's statements above, by defining labor in the urban ghetto "in terms of a dual labor market: a primary market offering relatively high-paying, stable employment, with good working conditions, chances for advancement and equitable administration of work rules; and a secondary market to which the urban poor are confined, decidedly less attractive in all of these respects, and in direct competition with welfare and crime for the attachment of the potential labor force."[20] Secondary jobs may not be worth staying at, while once a worker has held a job long enough to have decided that it suited him, he is likely to stay. If there are indeed two separate labor markets, then turnover in the secondary one can easily be explained.

Negro workers seem to drop out faster; their percentages drop rapidly after a few months, but rise again in the later period. Once they have persisted through one or two years on the job, they are likely to stay. White respondents are more apt to become permanent employees once they have stayed beyond a minimum, with the mode again in the 3+ years category.

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20 Michael J. Piore, "On-the-Job Training in the Dual Labor Market: Public and Private Responsibilities in On-the-Job Training of Disadvantaged Workers," in Public-Private Manpower Policies, eds. Arnold R. Weber et al. (Madison: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1969) p. 102.

If we look at the actual figures in the total sample, we find that the number of whites staying more than three years is substantial, which explains why the number of people in subsequent jobs is significantly smaller.

Without additional information, it is not evident whether we are dealing in the 3+ years category with reliable, solid, stable workers, or those who are in such a rut (have been in the same narrow job so long) that they are unlikely ever to be hired by another company. Similarly, at the other extreme, job-jumping can indicate either lack of stability or a great deal of competition for a worker's services. The current desire of employers to obtain a "good" and "presentable" Negro employee may lead such an employee to be pirated away, which may be an explanation for what appears to be Negro job-jumping. We are unable to draw reliable conclusions with regard to the difference between the races in length of time spent in different jobs.

Satisfaction and Personal Experience

One important hypothesis underlying this study is that unspoken barriers may exist for nonwhites in clerical employment, irrespective of a firm's sincere intention to avoid discrimination in hiring and on the job. Exaggerated job requirements, unrelated to performance needs, may be one such barrier, although stringent specifications may be somewhat relaxed in a tight labor market. Once nonwhites are on the job, differences

between the world of work and its language and their former world of the unemployed and its behavior patterns may stand in the way of their staying or being promoted. Often fellow employees may find their behavior "socially unfamiliar and hence unacceptable."

This question of unspoken barriers has not been explored very deeply, and it is important to find out whether our survey--interrogating almost exclusively men and women already working--gives us any insights into the problem. One of our hypotheses would lead us to expect that (1) Negroes would be more dissatisfied than whites with their jobs, especially as far as their relations with fellow workers are concerned; (2) Negro and white workers would not normally eat together or associate socially; and (3) there would be instances of unpleasant experiences among them. Some comparisons of the answers of the white and Negro workers may shed some light on these issues.

Answers to the direct question of whether workers were satisfied with present and past jobs indicate a somewhat higher level of dissatisfaction on the part of Negroes (Tables 13 and 14), but the similarities are more striking. Approximately the same percentage of each race reported unpleasant experiences with fellow workers in present jobs, which may indicate only that respondents of both races do not like to admit any such experiences (Table 13). Contrary to expectations that Negro women

TABLE 13

Unpleasant Experiences? Present Job

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No	97	83	43	78	30	83	7	64	67	83	36	82
Yes, with boss or superiors	3	3	3	5	2	6			1	1	3	7
Yes, with fellow-employees	15	13	8	15	3	8	3	27	12	15	5	11
Yes, with customers, suppliers	2	1	1	2	1	3	1	9	1	1		
Yes, with others	0		0									
Total	117		55		36		11		81		44	

clerical workers would have more difficulty than men in their relations with fellow employees on the job, largely because of the need for social relations, we found that it was the Negro male who experienced greater difficulty. This table is significant at the .05 to .02 level. Relatively few unpleasant experiences were reported as due to the boss.

As far as friendships on the job were concerned, the results are similar: the percentage having only a "few" friends is almost the same for each race (12 and 11 percent); "many" is mentioned in a majority of the more than 170 cases, with only an 11 percent difference between the races; on past jobs, the difference is only 3 percent. Finally, on the question of "getting along with others on the job" (Table 14), any difference between the races virtually vanishes for the present job and is only 7 percent for past jobs. When the sample is divided by sex, a slightly greater difference between the races emerges, with the males again experiencing greater difficulty than the females. This table is significant at the .02 to 0.1 level (chi square test).

But the most interesting questions deal with social life.

The workers were asked whether they could eat lunch with fellow employees if they wanted to--a question expected to elicit positive responses and to indicate significant differences by race. They also were asked whether they visited with fellow employees outside work. The latter

TABLE 14

Getting Along with Others on Present Job

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Well	104	88	48	87	33	89	7	64	71	88	41	93
Fairly well	14	12	7	13	4	11	4	36	10	12	3	7
Total	118		55		37		11		81		44	

question was expected to have few positive responses, especially from the Negroes, as the percentage of Negroes in clerical employment is small and such social activity would usually refer to visits among white and Negro employees.

Contrary to expectations, the percentages are rather close on most points (Tables 15 and 16 both significant between the .10 and .05 levels). Only the Negro males experienced less contacts with white workers outside the work place than was expected, but the very small number in the Negro male sample makes this difference relatively insignificant. The others apparently were satisfied with their social relationships with fellow employees both on and off the job, a finding which contradicts the assumption set out in hypothesis 6.

A possible explanation for these unexpected results may be that once workers are on the job and get to know each other, prejudices against individuals fade. It should be noted that these findings are consistent with our general finding that among high school students and trainees, the similarities are much more noticeable than the differences, and it is probable that the general attitude at work has a greater impact on the worker than his background, once he is a part of the work force. The "work ethic" seems to permeate quickly, at least among those hired first and presumably because they were the best prepared and most "presentable" job candidates.

TABLE 15

Possibility of Eating Lunch with Employees on Past Job

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Often	128	88	55	79	36	84	12	65	92	89	43	83
Fairly often	8	5	9	13	4	9	4	22	4	4	5	10
Rarely	10	7	6	8	3	7	2	11	7	7	4	7
Total	146		70		43		18		103		52	

TABLE 16

Possible Visit With Fellow Employees Outside of Work

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Often	17	16	9	20	6	18	4	50	11	15	5	13
Occasionally	31	29	12	26	9	27	4	50	22	30	9	23
Rarely	58	55	25	54	18	55			40	55	25	64
Total	106		46		33		8		73		39	

Part of the explanation for their relative lack of difficulty may lie in their desire to imitate the middle class.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the respondents were asked a hypothetical question rather than the question to what extent they had actually eaten lunch with or met outside of work with members of the other race. This may be the reason for the difference between the responses to this questionnaire and the findings of a recent participant-observer study on the job, where actual presence or absence of this kind of action could be observed. There the difference between the "in" group and others became clear: "It is important to belong, to be able to like and liked by the other employees, to meet expectations as to behavior, interests, and appearance." And the profile of members of the "in" group who are accepted and promoted by the company is different from the profile of the minority employee. Management tacitly accepted the authority of the "in" group in all its actions. Its "failure to recognize" the setting and the power of the social "structure" of the white-collar world of work results in the delusion of treating all employees evenly when the lack of "in" group social behavior led to a de facto barrier in employment status.[21]

The results of this part of our study only partially modify our earlier findings regarding the difficulties of Negro women and seem to contradict the recent findings of other participant-observer studies on the job. It is

21 Jane Klingman and Lawrence Howard, "Barriers to Policy Implementation: Equal Opportunity Employment," in Proceedings of the 12th Annual Academy of Management Conference, Midwest Division, pp. 175-77, 181.

possible, however, that we will find that, unlike in the hiring phase, once a Negro secretary is on the job, she does not find as many barriers in her relationships as she expected. Certainly many barriers remain, especially with regard to miscegenation, but there is the possibility that white-collar jobs might function as a means of assimilation for the would-be middle-class Negro, once he or she has obtained a job and been in it for a while. The barrier to being hired, often fashioned out of the white work force's fear of too close social relations with Negroes, may continue, but our very tentative results suggest that such fears tend to diminish in the long run.

One of our hypotheses about which we were most hopeful was that factors which prevented people from doing well in the labor market were related to their personalities, environment, family relationships, personal grooming, psychological attitudes, or approach toward solving some of these problems. Questions such as the following were asked: "Have family problems ever been a difficulty for you?" "Childhood or teenage experiences--parents, school authorities, law enforcement, health problems?" "What do you feel is most important to you in a job? Least important?" "What do you feel are your strong points when looking for a job? Your weak points?" "Some people have problems in finding a job because of the way they look or dress. What is important for the kind of job you have been looking for?" "Many people who have problems go somewhere for help. Have you ever gone to a minister, psychiatrist, marriage counselor,

social agency, teacher, etc.?"

These questions were out of the reach of general assumptions, but it was hoped that they would disclose barriers related to the circumstances surrounding the worker and that more complicated but more meaningful remedies for breaking them down could be suggested by an analysis of the responses.

Unfortunately, none of the answers to these questions, or to the questions discussed immediately above, showed much correlation with employment records of the sample. The only one was a negative correlation between the answer that the respondent had not taken his problems to anyone and the improvement factor (-.207; n = 48). Otherwise the result was totally negative, indicating that, for the group interviewed, none of these factors by itself had any influence on a more or less successful job search. As neither personality nor environmental features are normally held to have a causative effect on employment success, the negative result will not surprise the average investigator. However, it did force us to reject an entire group of suppositions about and possible reasons for employment success, unless a later investigation in depth can change this tentative conclusion.

Another set of hypotheses dealt with a worker's civic behavior. Has he voted? Has he ever taken part in political activities? Demonstrations? Has he participated in different kinds of organizations, such as veterans',

foreign language, civil rights, or cultural groups? Does he usually go to church? The rationale behind these questions was that some of them might be indicative of a concern with broad social issues and, concomitantly, with an interested but more detached view of job problems.

The results were virtually meaningless. In the case of Negroes, there were some negative correlations with nonparticipation in organizations, a result which might be interpreted as meaning that participation detracts from job search--except for the fact that the correlation was again only with the improvement factor rather than with length of time employed or with pay received (Index I, -.234, n = 53; Index II, -.459, n = 40; Index III, -.356, n = 30). Unless one wants to conjecture that the same workers who do not feel concerned enough to join a group are the ones who do not care whether or not they improve their economic condition between jobs, on must conclude that there are no meaningful correlations between civic participation and employment problems.

Professor Doeringer seems to have a different explanation. He says, "Where work groups are unstable and jobs are of a low quality, work is neither inherently satisfying nor organized in a way which encourages social activities. The social life in the ghetto, therefore, provides substitutes for the satisfaction of work, and the street competes with the workplace as a social institution."[22]

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22 Peter Doeringer, ed., "Low-Income Labor Markets and Urban Manpower Programs: A Critical Assessment" (Report to Office of Manpower Research, U.S. Department of Labor, January 1969), pp. 25 ff.

Conclusions

1. From an over-all viewpoint, the most significant finding of the study was negative: Few of the activities which are normally assumed to lead to successful employment experience proved to have a significant correlation with success in the labor market. Indexes of time worked, of time worked and pay received, and of pay increases between jobs were constructed, and then correlated with the respondents' answers to various questions in the interview instrument. The correlations were thereafter checked against the frequency distribution of answers scaled by the amount of time worked and divided into quartiles of both the white and Negro groups. The answers of those having worked least and those having worked most were compared. Thus, it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the efforts of schools, of vocational schools, of different kinds of training programs, and even of the Wisconsin State Employment Service, at least as individual efforts, showed few statistically significant relationships to success in obtaining and holding jobs. Some isolated items did show a relationship, but the over-all negative findings leave some doubt about the validity of the general belief in these methods for preparing people for employment.

These results must be checked in more rigorous research endeavors. The present study was intended largely as a guide to future research in an area where there is too little statistical evidence for stating what does

or does not constitute a barrier to successful employment. New research efforts must, at least, involved a larger homogeneous group and a control group. It would be important to test each of the remedies alone and then to test several of them together with the same individuals. If highly skilled interviewers could conduct such interviews in depth, more positive results might emerge. But until some such large undertaking is possible, the over-all negative results of this research will have to stand.

Given the fact that most linear correlations we carried out were negative, an attempt at multiple correlations of all kinds of possible combinations might have been undertaken, but the money available did not stretch to that rather expensive proposition.

2. The general assumption about poor Negro marital records (and hence poor family responsibility as compared with white workers) seems not to be borne out by our survey. Virtually the same percentage of white and Negro workers were either married or had never been married. In addition, the married Negroes had more successful employment experiences, while no such relationship could be observed in the white cases. Negroes were more successful if their wives were not employed than if they were, a relationship not found among white workers. This finding seems to be at variance with the suppositions about Negro family life, as discussed in the Moynihan report, and emphasizes greater family responsibility by the Negro male; it is also in clear contradiction to our hypothesis 5

which says ". . . that the effect of the worker's marital status on his employment would differ between the races and that the less stable Negro family relationships would affect the stability and consistency of the employment records." It is of course possible that Negroes entering the clerical field are more likely to abide by the general mores of society than Negroes in other segments of the labor force.

3. Differences in the white and the Negro approach to entering and staying in the labor force are interesting. Negro expectations of discrimination seem to make them doubt their chances, especially in the white-collar field, with the result that they tend to enter the labor market later than white workers and to establish themselves more slowly. Because progression up the clerical job ladder seems slow, if not impossible, they are apt to move between jobs and to leave the labor force earlier. Belief in the existence of racial bias varied in degree among Negroes, and some stated that this attitude affected their job experiences. Their low expectations may explain their attitudes toward entering the labor force and staying in it, their performances on the job, and their relative lack of interest in taking courses to improve their chances. Low expectations may also account in part for fewer Negroes than whites blaming lack of skill, or training, or of proper qualifications for their poor employment experiences; the whites freely admitted these shortcomings in answers to

various questions contrary to hypothesis 6, "that personal attitudes, appearance, and adjustment to work mores would be factors contributing to a difference between the races with respect to being hired and staying on the job." The realism of white workers and the low expectation level of Negroes may, however, lead to somewhat similar behavior between the races when confronted with actual job possibilities. Here a difference between the sexes was found, with the advantage on the side of females.

4. As we assumed in hypothesis 4 ("we expected clear differences between the races in the effectiveness of different methods of job referral"), Negro workers relied more than whites on the Employment Service for job referrals, but the difference between races in the use of alternative methods was not as great as expected. Direct application to the employer was the preferred method of job-search for both races--considerably more important than the WSES--a contradiction of hypothesis 4. The relatively recent availability of white-collar jobs for Negroes may be part of the reason that they are willing to seek out employers and, hence, that the races are tending toward similarity in their preferred referral methods. As job performance among both whites and Negroes improves (checked by quartiles), their attitudes, expectations, and behavior seem to become more comparable.

Workers were not certain that the referral method they used was necessarily the most effective one. In retrospect, the attitudes toward the helpfulness of the WSES varied. Negro workers, even if they were

unemployed at the time they were interviewed, were inclined to be favorable toward the WSES. Negro bachelors also felt more favorable to the WSES than either white workers generally or married Negro workers. The latter factor leads to the conjecture that married workers may be more likely than single workers to assimilate the prevailing attitudes of white-collar workers--an assumption we also made in a different context.

5. The training activities in the vocational schools seemed to contribute to generally more favorable employment records of those who took these courses voluntarily, when the records are compared with those of other respondents. As we assumed in hypothesis 2 ("Vocational school training, especially for Negroes learning to adjust to industrial society and the mores of the world of work, was expected to affect the workers' experiences in the job market"), vocational school trainees of both races had a higher percentage of time in post-training jobs than did the sample as a whole. This better record could have been due to the tight labor market and to the fact that vocational school trainees, particularly the white trainees, were more "employable" than the others in the sample ("creaming"). However, the Negroes who had vocational school training did not experience the same placement success as did their white counterparts in spite of the schools' deliberate efforts to use the course to introduce Negro newcomers from southern agricultural areas to the northern industrial world of work through special "preindustrial"

training. Still, up to a point, our hypothesis 2 proved correct. Though the survey only hints at the need for closer scrutiny of the vocational training system, we would be inclined to assume that close coordination with employer needs before and after training might improve the employment records of workers trained at these schools.

The fact that so many comparatively recent MDTA trainees could not be found for interviews is an indication that they may not have bridged the gap to the world of work. Contrary to our hypothesis 3 ("As MDTA courses were instituted especially for persons lacking marketable skills, we hypothesized noticeable results for their subsequent employment experience"), Negroes were inclined to be disillusioned with MDTA training, did not think it helped, and correctly predicted poor placement results, although they were supposed to have been the primary beneficiaries of this kind of training. Negroes' expectations before the course were negatively correlated with later employment success. It is possible, of course, that the finding of disillusionment about MDTA in general was biased by the small number of trainees who could be found for interviews, but there were at least enough of them to make the negative correlation statistically significant.

As far as can be judged from the small group, it seems that on-the-job training is more successful than the other types, insofar as it immediately places the workers into a work-related situation. In the case of Negro

workers, at least, some of the barriers encountered elsewhere are less likely to occur, as social intercourse comes about more naturally and tends to mitigate against discrimination patterns. On-the-job training involves the employer directly and tends to eliminate the gap between training and placement, a result demonstrated in the survey.

6. The relation between school, its courses and grades, its counseling, and its extracurricular activities seemed to have little impact on later employment, to the point of negative correlation--a confirmation of the first part of hypothesis 1: "we did not hypothesize that courses or grades in high school would have much impact on employment success." But we found a surprising similarity between the races in the relationship of employment success and school activities, including courses--contrary to the second part of the hypothesis. A greater discrepancy with regard to employment success existed between the sexes than between the races, though the preponderance of girls in the high school student sample does make this finding less significant. The girls were helped more than the boys by school counseling and placement efforts, and they were more apt to be referred to jobs by friends and relatives. They also were more likely to be stable employees rather than job-jumpers as the boys tended to be, although it seemed to take them longer to find jobs. It is here, as well as with regard to referral by friends and relatives, that Negro

girls and boys are noticeably disadvantaged compared to white students. Negro boys also are less convinced than whites that school courses have helped or that a high school diploma will open job opportunities to them. Negro girls find their pay relatively low and the social situation at work a hindrance. Nonetheless, the similarities regarding educational activities between white and Negro students appeared to be a most significant observation.

7. Although a comparatively large number of respondents were included in the sample because they were unemployed, relatively few were still looking for jobs at the time of the interviews. The tightness of the labor market, especially in white-collar employment, was demonstrated in a study by Greenleigh Associates, which sought to interview only the unemployed but found hardly any white-collar workers in that category. This situation may also explain some of our other findings.

8. That covert barriers to nonwhite employment or promotion in clerical jobs existed was an important hypothesis for this study. Lack of social intercourse between fellow-workers, it was believed, was one of the significant barriers. Participant-observer studies made in individual firms, referred to above, appeared to bear out this assumption, which was based on presumed differences between the behavior patterns of the world of work and those of unemployed Negroes. The present survey, however, fails to support the hypothesis.

We found that the degree of satisfaction on the job, or friendships and "getting along" with fellow employees, does not seem to differentiate significantly between the races, nor does the record of unpleasant experiences with fellow workers. It appears, in answers to specific questions, that Negroes and whites feel, to about the same degree, that if they so desire they are able to eat lunch with fellow employees--expectations or fears to the contrary. As expected, there is only a minority of clerical workers interested in meeting each other outside the workplace, but here, too, there is little difference between Negroes and whites. This result contradicts the second part of hypothesis 6 ("that social relations among fellow workers and satisfaction with conditions at work would be barriers to employment promotion and job stability"), as well as observations made on the job in studies of individual firms.

Social barriers seem more formidable to an individual prior to employment than when he is on the job. Face-to-face encounters within the referral system also seem to generate fewer barriers. These observations lead one to speculate that white-collar job situations, threatening though they might appear in anticipation, operate as a step in mutual assimilation. The work itself, the workers' middle-class aspirations, and the permeation of the "work ethic" may mitigate friction over time. At least such a possibility is raised by the findings of this study.

9. Part of hypothesis 6, that personal problems, environmental

factors, family conditions, past experiences, psychological attitudes, personal appearance, or similar features, individually or in combination, might be responsible for a poor employment record, was not supported by the survey. It was hoped that one or another of these traits might show some relationship that would point to specific remedies for poor employment success. Unfortunately, none of them did. It is, of course, possible that such conditions are not amenable to proper interview responses and that indirect answers may still prove the hypothesis to be correct. Unlike other hypotheses, this one was included in the hope of eliciting answers that would lead to remedies. Recent experiments with training at the Opportunities Industrialization Center may eventually prove the correctness of the reasons for poor attitudes and motivation.

10. As the institutions or activities expected to improve employability, including different training methods, have not shown a demonstrable impact on the employment market, new research seems imperative. These methods, individually, do not prove effective in bringing about employment success, but it is possible that some combinations of them might be more efficacious. Conceivably, some personal or environmental characteristics, not at present suspected (past experience or family history, or motivation, or self-awareness or self-assurance, for example), might emerge under specific conditions as standing in the way of better

employment results, so that different pretraining activities might be indicated as a way of making training more useful. Only careful experimentation might reveal barriers we do not yet comprehend. A number of simultaneous small pilot projects, trying out different combinations of known remedies as well as trial-and-error combinations of them with demographic, experience, or attitudinal characteristics, seem to be indicated as the next step. Enough flexibility would have to be provided to make it possible to add new ingredients in order to identify those combinations which would reveal the barriers to employability, the reasons for them, and ways to eliminate them.

It turns out that we are more ignorant than we thought. In many respects what we must do resembles medical research--to look for the cause of a disease and its cure. If something that helps is found, it may or may not tell us the cause; to find the remedy is the important goal. Such carefully designed, and expensive, demonstration projects might be a step in the direction of preparing disadvantaged workers to be more employable.

APPENDIX TABLE A-1

Who Gave Respondents the Most Counselling Help?

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Teacher	19	19	8	14	5	17			14	20	8	20
School counselor	8	8	5	9	2	7	3	20	6	8	2	5
Employment Service counselor	19	19	13	23	7	23	6	40	12	17	7	17
Vocational School counselor	3	3	7	13	0		1	7	3	4	6	15
Parents and relatives	40	40	16	28	12	40	3	20	28	39	13	32
Clergy	2	2			1	3			1	1		
Neighbors and friends	10	10	7	13	3	10	2	13	7	10	5	12
Total	101		56		30		15		71		41	

APPENDIX TABLE A-2

Cumulative Referral Method to All Jobs Actually Obtained

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public employment office	24	5	35	18	6	4	9	20	18	6	26	18
Private agency	23	5	8	4	11	7	1	2	12	4	7	5
Direct to employer	158	36	60	31	65	43	23	52	93	31	37	25
Employer contacting me	23	5	5	3	5	3			18	6	5	3
School	20	4	9	5	2	1	2	5	18	6	7	5
Vocational school	10	2	1	0	7	5			3	0	1	0
Ad	93	20	27	14	17	11	2	5	76	25	25	17
Friend or relative	77	18	31	16	31	21	7	16	46	15	24	16
Someone working there	20	4	16	8	6	4			20	7	16	11
Total	454		192		150		44		304		148	

APPENDIX TABLE A-3

What Is First Thing Respondent Would Do in Looking for Job

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Look at newspaper	90	65	37	51	26	65	10	59	64	65	27	49
File application	2	1							2	2		
Go to Employment Service	17	12	18	25	5	12			12	12	18	33
Go directly to employer's office	21	15	13	18	5	12	5	29	16	16	8	15
Talk with friends			3	4			2	12			1	2
Look for jobs	9	6	1	1	4	10			5	5	1	2
Total	139		72		40		17		99		55	

APPENDIX TABLE A-4

Referral Method of Post-graduate Jobs Held

from January through November 1966, by Race and Sex

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Direct application	28	53	9	43	17	60.7	6	54.5	11	44	3	42.9
Advertisement	5	9	1	5	2	7.1	0		3	12	1	14.3
Friend or relative	13	25	2	9.5	7	25	0		6	24	2	28.6
Public employment service	3	5.5	8	38	2	7.1	4	36.4	1	4	1	14.3
School	3	5.5							3	12		
Other	1	2	1	5	0		1	9.1	1	4		
Total	53		21		28		11		25		7	

APPENDIX TABLE A-5

Profile of Those Who Feel That WSES Did or Did Not Help

	WSES HELPED				WSES DID NOT HELP			
	White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lifetime residence	15	48.3	4	14.8	45	57	6	13.3
Not lifetime	16	51.7	23	85.2	34	43	39	86.7
Currently employed	25	80.6	16	59.3	56	67.5	31	68.8
Not currently employed	6	19.4	11	40.7	27	32.5	14	31.2
Married	11	39.3	8	30.8	27	33.3	20	44.4
Never married	11	39.3	14	53.8	40	49.4	18	40
Male	6	19.4	9	33.3	31	37.3	5	11.1
Female	25	80.6	18	66.7	52	62.7	40	88.9

APPENDIX TABLE A-6

Reasons for Difficulty in Finding Job

	WHITE		NEGRO		MALES				FEMALES			
					White		Negro		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lacked right skill	46	29	18	14	18	27	9	26	28	29	9	10
Lacked proper training	42	26	21	17	16	22	9	26	26	27	12	13
Lacked advice or help	8	5	18	14	5	6	6	17	3	3	12	13
No openings	40	25	38	30	12	18	7	20	28	29	31	34
Not wanted personally	4	3	10	8	3	4	2	6	1	1	8	9
Gave up looking	9	6	14	11	3	4			6	6	14	16
Could have tried harder	10	6	3	2	7	11	1	3	3	3	2	2
Poor past employment record	1	0	3	2	1	2	1	3			2	2
Total[a]	160		125		65		35		95		90	

a Many respondents gave more than one reason, hence the large totals.

APPENDIX TABLE A-7

Length of Time Spent in Each of the Four Jobs

	Employer No. 1				Employer No. 2				Emp oyer No. 3				Employer No. 4			
	W	W%	N	N%	W	W%	N	N%	W	W%	N	N%	W	W%	N	N%
Less than 1 month	21	13	9	12	5	4	3	5	5	5	1	2	1	1	1	4
1-3 months	36	22	22	30	23	17	18	29	14	13	16	32	8	10	7	27
3-6 months	32	20	19	25	28	21	13	21	15	14	8	16	21	26.5	9	35
6-9 months	14	9	7	9	11	8	4	6	8	8	4	8	4	5	1	4
9-12 months	5	3	5	6.5	6	5	2	3	10	9	2	4	2	3		
1-2 years	15	9	2	2	22	16	11	17	18	17	6	12	14	18	6	23
2-3 years	8	5	5	6.5	15	11	5	8	8	8	6	12	12	15	2	7
3+ years	30	19	7	9	24	18	7	11	22	26	7	14	17	21.5		
Total	161		76		163		63		106		50		79		26	

APPENDIX B

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

July, 1966

The University of Wisconsin is doing a study of problems in obtaining employment, and of what can be done to make it easier to get work. In connection with this study we would like to ask you a few questions about your experience We hope we can learn enough about this from talking to a number of people, so that we can suggest some ways to improve employment opportunities. We are particularly interested in the kinds of jobs you have had, your training, and in what ways you have tried to get work. We also would like to get your opini about these kinds of problems.

1. Have you lived in Milwaukee all your life? /No/ /Yes/ GO TO Q. 2

   (a) Where were you born? _____

   (b) What other places (city and state) have you lived in? _____

   _____

   (c) When did you come to Milwaukee? _____

2. How long have you lived at this residence? _____ years _____ months

   (a) How long did you live at the place before this? _____ years _____ months

   (b) Altogether, how many different places have you lived in, here in Milwaukee?

   _____

3. Does your FAMILY (father, mother, sister, brother) live in Milwaukee?

   /Yes/ /No/ GO TO Q. 4

   (a) When did they come to Milwaukee? _____

   (b) How long have your parents' families lived in the Milwaukee area? ____

   _____

   _____

   _____

Interviewer's name: _____ Interview No.: _____

Date: _____ Time Started: _____

Employment Problems

4. Are you a religious person? /Yes/ /No/ GO TO Q. 5

(a) What church do you attend? _____

(b) What denomination is this church? _____

(c) Which best describes your church?

/liberal church, common sense rules/

/conservative church, strict ritual/ /Don't know/

/fundamentalist church, literal interpretation of Bible/

(d) Do you attend services /occasionally/ /weekly/ /monthly/

5. Have you ever voted? /Yes/ /No/ GO TO (b)

(a) Did you vote in: /city elections/ /state elections/ /national electio

(b) Have you ever taken part in political activities? For example, worked for a particular candidate? Circulated petitions of any kind? Attende mass meetings at election times?

Kind of Activity /Yes/ /No/ GO TO Q 6

_____

6. Have you ever participated in a demonstration for a particular cause or issue such as:

/War in Viet Nam/ /Draftboard Qualifications/

/Civil Rights/ /Other _____/ /no/

7. Do you participate in activities of any of the following groups: SHOW CARD

A___Neighborhood groups

B___Veterans groups

C___Social Centers

D___Recreational and social clubs

E___Cultural or civic organizations

F___Sports groups

G___Foreign Language Groups

H___Women's clubs or Fraternal group

I___Agencies such as Red Cross, YM or YW, Settlement House, Welfare or Health

J___Civil Rights groups

K___ Parent-Teacher organizations

L___Other _____

Employment Problems

The following questions deal with schools.

8. Have you attended more than one grade school?

/yes/ ↓

(a) How many did you attend?_____

(b) Name and place located: _____

_____

_____

_____

/no/ ↓

(a) Name of school _____

_____

(b) where Located: _____

9. Have you attended high school? /yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 23

10. We would like to know about your high school program and activities. What was the name of the high school you first attended? GO TO NEXT PAGE.

SHOW CARD 2

A___Part time job

B___Sports

C___Agency activities: Y.M., Scouts, etc.

D___Gangs

E___Church organizations

F___Neighborhood group

G___Music, vocal or instrumental

H___Dancing

I___Arts and Crafts

J___Drama, acting or play production

K___Reading

L___Writing

M___volunteer service work

N___Other_____

High School Record Sheet

Name of School	Where Located	Type of Program & Grades Completed	Dates Attended From	Dates Attended To		Average of Grades Received	Activities Participated In SHOW CARD 2	Member of High Schoo Clubs
		General Commcl. College Prep. Grades Completed			English Mathematics Science			
		General Commcl. College Prep. Grades Completed			English Mathematics Science			
		General Commcl. College Prep. Grades Completed			English Mathematics Science			

Employment Problems

Employment Problems

11. About your school attendance record -- were you:

(a) Absent for illness /yes/ /no/

(b) Absent to help at home /yes/ /no/

(c) Absent for other reasons /yes/ /no/

(d) How many times in your last year of school do you think you were absent? _____

(e) How often were you TARDY at school in your last year?

/never/ /several times/ /about once a month/ /about once a week/

12. Which courses did you take which were SUPPOSED to help you get a job?

_____

13. Which courses do you think were ACTUALLY most helpful in getting a job?

_____

_____

14. While you were in school did you see your school counselor about your plans for what you would do after high school?

/about work/ /about future education/ /didn't see him/ GO TO Q. 15

(a) How often did you see him? _____(times)

(b) How often in your senior year? _____(times)

(c) Was his advice useful to you

/in a general way/ /in a particular way/ /not useful/

Explain: _____

_____

_____

Employment Problems

15. Did people come in to school to talk with you and your classmates about job opportunities and what to do about them? /yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 16

Who were they, and did you get a chance to talk to them and ask them questions?

Speakers	Assembly	Classroom	Individua
(a) People who graduated from your school			
(b) Representatives of Milwaukee companies			
(c) State Employment Service counselors			
(d) Others			

(e) Did they give you personally any help? Explain: _____

_____

16. Did anybody else in school give you advice about finding jobs?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 17

(a) Who was that? _____

(b) What advice did you get? _____

_____

_____

(c) Did you try to follow this advice?

/yes/ /no/

(d) What did you do? _____

_____

17. Do you feel that it would have been helpful to you for later finding a job if you had had a chance to work part-time while you were in school?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO (b)

(a) How do you think it would have helped you? _____

_____

(b) Do you think you would have learned less in your senior year if you had worked part-time then?

/yes/ /no/

Employment Problems

18. Is there ANYTHING you can think of that you feel a high school could do to help teenagers:

(a) Prepare themselves for jobs: _____

_____

(b) Get information about job opportunities: _____

_____

(c) Do you feel any other group in Milwaukee could help teenagers or do you feel this should be done by the high school?

_____

_____

19. Did you look for a full-time job BEFORE you left school?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 20

(a) Did you get a job before you left school? /no/ /yes/ GO TO Q. 21

20. How long was it after you left school before you began looking for a job?

___days ____weeks ____months /did not look/

21. Did you graduate from high school? /no/ /yes/ TO TO Q. 22

(a) Do you think this made any difference in trying to find a job?

/yes/ /no/

(b) Why do you feel this way? _____

_____

_____

GO TO Q. 23

22. Did you go to college or are you now going?

/went to college/ /now going/ /no/ GO TO Q. 23

(a) Which one?_____Location _____

(b) What was the highest year you completed?_____

Employment Problems

23. If you had to do it all over again, would you

/Get more education/ /About the same/ / Less education/

(a) If more education, what kind of additional education would you like to have had? _____

_____

Now I would like to ask you about your employment record. SHOW CARD 3.

24. We would like to have detailed information about ALL the jobs you've had, even part-time jobs you had while in school, or extra jobs besides your regular one. Are you working now?

TURN TO NEXT PAGE

A___Referred by a public employment office

B___Referred by a private employment agency

C___By going directly to the employer

D___By an employer contacting me directly

E___Referred by my school

F___Referred by the Vocational School

G___Referred by a union

H___Qualified by taking a test

I___Answered an advertisement

J___Referred by a friend

K___Referred by somebody working there

L___Other_____

_____

_____

EMPLOYMENT RECORD SHEET

Most recent employer first	Type of work	Industry	Dates Employed		Wage or salary		Full or Part Time	Referral method SHOW CARD 3
			From	To	Rate per	hr/wk/mo		

IF R IS WORKING GO TO Q. 25. IF R IS NOT WORKING GO TO Q. 31

25. On the whole, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the main job you are now holding? CHECK ONE:

/Satisfied/ /Depends/ /Dissatisfied/

(a) Why do you feel that way? _____

_____

26. Are you satisfied with the pay in your present main job?

/Satisfied/ /Not too satisfied/ /Dissatisfied/

(a) Do you feel you have gone about as far as you are likely to go in this kind of job, or do you expect it to lead to another, better job?

/Gone as far as can/ /Don't know/ /Expects to go further/

27. Thinking about your present main job

(a) Would you say you have made many friends?

/Many/ /Some/ /Few/

(b) Do you get along with others on the job?

/Well/ /Fairly well/ /Poorly/

(c) Do you feel you can eat lunch with them if you want to?

/Often/ /Occasionally/ /Rarely/

(d) Do you visit with fellow employees outside of work?

/Often/ /Occasionally/ /Rarely/

28. Some people have all kinds of experiences on the job, some of which are not very pleasant. Have you had any such experiences with others on the job which gave you the feeling that they did not like you?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 29

(a) What experiences were they? Describe. _____

_____

(b) Why do you feel that this experience indicated how others felt about you

_____

_____

(c) What kind of people would you rather work with? _____

_____

Employment Problems

29. Even though you have a job, are you looking for another job?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 30.

(a) What kind of a job are you looking for? _____

_____

30. Are you now taking any courses to qualify for another job? /yes/ /no/

(a) Do you plan to take courses to qualify for another job? /yes/ /no/

31. And now, about all other jobs you have spoken about having held in the past. Did you feel, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with these previous jobs?

/Satisfied/ /Depends/ /Dissatisfied/

(a) Why do you feel that way? _____

_____

_____

32. Speaking about previous job,

(a) Would you say you made many friends? /Many/ /Some/ /Few/

(b) Did you get along with others on the job?

/Well/ /Fairly well/ /Poorly/

(c) Did you feel you could eat lunch with them if you wanted to?

/often/ /Fairly often/ /rarely/

Why _____

33. Was there any experience in these jobs which made you think the others did not like you? _____

_____

_____

(a) What kind of people would you rather have worked with? _____

_____

Employment Problems

The next few questions deal with looking for a job.

IF R IS WORKING GO TO Q 38

34. Are you now looking for a job? /no/ /yes/ GO TO Q. 37

35. Do you plan to take a job at any time in the future? /yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 36

(a) When do you think that will be? _____

(b) What kind of work do you expect that might be? _____

_____

GO TO Q. 37

36. Do you have any special reason for not planning to work later on?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 43

(a) What is it? _____

GO TO Q. 43

37. What kind of work would you most LIKE to do? _____

_____

(a) How many hours would you like to work? _____

(b) Where would you like to work? _____

_____

(c) What pay do you feel would be satisfactory? _____

38. Have you LOOKED for work in any communities OTHER THAN Milwaukee in the last three years?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 39

City State Date

(a) Where and When _____

(b) Where and when _____

(c) Where and when _____

(d) Where and when _____

39. This question lists things that people might like to get out of a job.Which one of the things on this card would you most like to get from a job? Which one would be second in importance? (SHOW CARD NO. 4)

A___The respect of others

B___Money

C___A sense of accomplishment

D___A sense of security

E___A feeling of doing something worthwhile

F___A feeling of independence

G___Something not name here.(What is that?) _____

Employment Problems

40. If you were to look for a job tomorrow, what is the first thing you would do?

_____

41. Have you at times had too little money for transportation to go looking for work?

/yes/ /no/

(a) When was that? _____(year)_____(month)

(b) Describe what happened _____

_____

_____

42. Did any of the following at times keep you from looking for work?
SHOW CARD 5

A _____ Lack of a baby sitter

B _____ Lack of proper clothing

C _____ Did not know how to find employer's office

D _____ Thought I didn't qualify

E _____ Sudden illness

F _____ Needed at home

G _____ Wanted to stay in school

H _____ Didn't know what kind of job to look for

I _____ Only jobs open didn't pay enough

J _____ Other _____

_____

43. Have you received any employment guidance or counseling from the following: Teacher, school counselor, State Employment Service counselor, Vocational School counselor, one or both parents, other relatives, friends, others.

/yes/ GO TO Q. 44 /no/ GO TO Q. 46

Employment Problems

44. How much did the counseling you had help you? /A lot/ /A little/ /Hardly at all/
SHOW CARD NO. 6

A. Teacher	_____	_____	_____
B. School counselor	_____	_____	_____
C. Employment service counselor	_____	_____	_____
D. Vocational school counselor	_____	_____	_____
E. One or both parents	_____	_____	_____
F. Other relatives	_____	_____	_____
G. Clergymen	_____	_____	_____
H. Neighbors	_____	_____	_____
I. Friends	_____	_____	_____
J. Other	_____	_____	_____

45. Who of these gave you the most help? _____

(a) How did they help you? _____

_____

46. Were you given any tests by the Vocational School or any other agency?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 47

(a) Which agency was that? _____

(b) Describe the kinds of tests you were given: _____

_____

(c) How did you find them? Were they

/very difficult/ /not bad/ /easy/

(d) Describe in what way: _____

_____

Employment Problems

47. Have you recently been sent to any firms, where you expected to find a job?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 51

(a) As far as you can remember, which firms were these? _____

_____

(b) Did you file an application? /yes/ /no/

48. By whom were you sent there, or who told you about the job?
SHOW CARD NO. 7

A. ____State Employment Service Youth Opportunity Center
B. ____Vocational School
C. ____School
D. ____Welfare Dept.
E. ____Private employment agency
F. ____Friend or relative
G. ____The employer himself
H. ____Other Describe _____

49. Did you get a temporary job?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 50

(a) If yes, for how long? _____(months)_____(days)

50. Did you get a job that seemed to be permanent? /yes/ /no/ GO TO 51

(a) If yes, how long did you keep it? _____(years)_____(months)

_____(days)

51. Have you ever been asked by anyone to join a union?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 52

(a) Who asked you? _____

(b) What union was it? _____

(c) When was this? _____

(d) Did you join? /yes/ /no/ Why? _____

_____

Employment Problems

52. Have you ever tried to join a union? /yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 53

(a) When was this? _____

(b) What union was it? _____

(c) Who did you talk with? _____

(d) Did you join? /yes/ /no/

Explain: _____

_____

53. Have you ever tried to get into an apprenticeship program?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 54

(a) When was this? _____

(b) What program was it? _____

(c) Who did you talk with? _____

(d) Did you get into the program? /yes/ /no/ → Explain: _____

_____

54. Have you ever registered with the Wisconsin State Employment Service (Youth Opportunity Center)?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 60

(a) When was that? _____(month) _____(year)

(b) How often did you go back to the State Employment Service (Youth Opportunity Center) before landing a job? _____

(c)Can you tell me about when that was?

_____	_____ ; _____	_____ ; _____	_____ ; _____	_____
mo.	yr. mo.	yr. mo.	yr. mo.	yr.

55. Did anybody send you, or recommend the State Employment Service to you?

Explain: _____

Employment Problems

56. When you were at the State Employment Service (Y.O.C.) how many people talked to you there? _____

(a) What do you think were their positions? _____

_____

(b) How interested in you did you feel that the persons who talked to you there were?

/Very much/ /Somewhat/ /Not much/ /Not at all/

(c) In what way, if any, did he try to help you? _____

_____

57. Were you given any tests by the State Employment Service to find out what job you could do?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 58

(a) If you know, describe the kinds of tests you were given:

_____

(b) Did you find these tests difficult?

/Very difficult/ /Not bad/ /Easy/

Describe in what way: _____

_____

58. Has the State Employment Service (Youth Opportunity Center) helped you to get a job?

/yes/ /no/

(a) Explain what they did. (b) What do you think was the reason?

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

59. Do you feel that the State Employment Service could have done anything more to help you get a job?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 61

(a) What? _____

_____

GO TO Q. 61

Employment Problems

60. If you did not register with the Employment Service (or Youth Opportunity Center), what was the reason? _____

IF R DOES NOT GIVE EXPLANATION AFTER SOME PROBING, SUGGEST THESE POSSIBLE ANSWERS: SHOW CARD NO. 8

A _____ Didn't know about it.

B _____ Felt they would not have suitable jobs for me.

C_____A friend of mine had a poor experience.

D_____I was afraid they would send me to apply for jobs I did not want.

E_____I was afraid they would send me to employers who would not hire me.

F_____Other reasons: (PROBE)_____

_____

_____

61. Did you ever go to a private employment agency?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 63

(a) Which agency was it?_____

(b) When was that?_____

(c) How many times did you go there altogether?_____

62. Did they help you to find a job?

/yes/

(a) What did they do?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

/no/

(b) What was the reason?

_____

_____

_____

_____

63. Do you remember any time when you were offered a job which you did not take? /yes/ /no/

(a) What was that job? _____

(b) Why did you not take this job? _____

_____

Employment Problems

64. About job opportunities in Milwaukee, now. Would you say finding a job here now is: /easy/ /about average/ /hard/

(a) Do you think there will be

/fewer/ /about the same/ /more/

jobs in Milwaukee in the next two years? Why? _____

_____

(b) Do you think wages in the next two years will be

/lower/ /about the same/ /higher/

Why? _____

The following questions deal with some of the employment problems you might have had.

65. Some people have difficulty getting a job. Of the people you know, would any of the following reasons be a cause of their difficulty? SHOW CARD NO. 9.

A _____Did not have the right skill for available jobs

B _____Did not have the proper training

C _____Did not get the right advice or help

D _____Employers said they had no openings

E _____He felt that employers did not want him personally

F _____Got tired of applying for jobs and gave up looking

G _____He could have tried harder

H _____ He had a poor past employment record

I _____Other _____

(a) Would any of the above kinds of difficulties apply to you?

/yes/ /no/

↓

Which? _____

Employment Problems

66. When applying for a job, have you ever had to wait more than 30 minutes before being interviewed?

/yes/ ↓ /no/

(a) Explain: _____

(b) Have you ever received a parking ticket while waiting to be interviewed?

/yes/ ↓ /no/ ↓

(c) Have you ever left before being interviewed?

/yes/ ↓ /no/ GO TO Q. 67

Explain: _____

67. When you have applied for a job and were not hired, what were you usually told by the employer? CHECK MORE THAN ONE, IF NECESSARY. SHOW CARD NO.10

A ___ You lacked experience

B ___ Your age was wrong

C ___ They would let you know

D ___ You were overqualified

E ___ They had no vacancies for which you would qualify

F ___ You did not have the skills needed

G ___ You would be drafted

H ___ Other _____

(a) Why do you feel you were not hired? _____

_____

68. Do you feel that the people in the office of the employer meant what they said? /yes/ GO TO Q. 69 /no/ ↓

(a) If not, what do you think is the reason why they did not tell you what they meant? _____

_____

(b) What makes you feel that way? _____

69. In applying for a job, which of the following steps do you feel are QUITE EASY for you? SHOW CARD 11.

A ___ Dressing for the interview

B ___ Getting to the company's employment office

C ___ Filling out the application blank

D ___ Telling your story to different people in the company

E ___ Taking tests

F ___ Getting to see the person who does the hiring

G ___ Being interviewed by the person who does the hiring

H ___ Don't know

(a) Which of these is QUITE HARD for you. ___ A through H

Employment Problems

70. Most people have personal strengths and weaknesses which may help or hurt them when looking for a job. Which of the following do you feel are your fairly strong points when job hunting? SHOW CARD 12.

A ____Age
B ____Appearance
C ____Cooperative nature
D ____Education
E ____Experience
F ____Friendly personality
G ____Physical fitness
H ____Special skills
I ____Willingness to learn
J ____ Willingness to work hard

(a) Which of the above do you feel are your fairly weak points when job hunting?

_____
(A through J)

71. Some people have particular problems in finding a job because of the way they look or dress. In thinking about people you know, do you think any of the following have kept them from getting a job? SHOW CARD NO. 13.

A____Unsuitable clothing
B____Too much make-up
C____Extreme hair styles
D____Too little make-up
E____Beard
F____Lack of cleanliness
G____Untidyness

72. Do you feel that proper dress or appearance is important to the kind of job you have been looking for?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 73

(a) What do you feel is important for proper appearance? _____

_____

_____

Employment Problems

73. Do you (a) iron your clothes? /yes/ /no/ or press trousers? /yes/ /no/

(b) sew clothes: /replace buttons/ /darn socks/ /repair rips in seams/ /make own clothes/

(c) care for your hair: /set your own/ /visit beauty parlor/

or, cut hair /weekly/ /bi-weekly/ /monthly/

(d) use:
1. __ bath oil or salts
2. __ deodorant
3. __ mouthwash
4. __ razor
5. __ cuticle remover
6. __ shoe polish
7. __ foot balms
8. __ after shave lotion
9. __ hair dressing
10. __ lipstick
11. __ hair spray
12. __ mascara
13. __ depilatories

74. Which of the following do you feel are MOST important to you in a job?
SHOW CARD NO. 14

A. ____ Kind of work performed
B. ____ Hours of work
C. ____ Opportunities to learn
D. ____ Wage or salary level
E. ____ Responsibility of the job
F. ____ Importance of the work done
G. ____ Relationship with fellow employees
H. ____ Relationship with boss cr supervisor
I. ____ Relationship with customers

(a) Which of the above is LEAST important to you? _____
A through I

75. When employed, have you ever been especially concerned about:

A. ___ Getting a promotion /yes/ /no/
B. ___ Getting a raise /yes/ /no/
C. ___ Getting your hours changed /yes/ /no/
D. ___ Getting changed to a different type of work /yes/ /no/
E. ___ Vacation time /yes/ /no/
F. ___ Being laid off /yes/ /no/
G. ___ Being fired /yes/ /no/

Employment Problems

76. Besides the newspaper, do you read for pleasure?

/yes/ /no/

(a) Can you remember the last article or book you read? _____

_____

77. How often do you write letters to friends? _____

(a) Do you do writing for your own pleasure? /yes/ /no/

(b) Do you type? /yes/ /no/

What is your speed? _____

78. Do you feel any childhood or teen-age experiences have made it harder for you to get and hold a job; for example, problems with parents, school authorities, or law enforcement authorities, or special health problems?

Explain _____

_____

79. Some people find that their own family problems have made it harder for them to get and hold a job. Have family problems ever been a difficulty for you?

/yes/ /no/

(a) Explain _____

_____

80. Many people who have problems go somewhere for help. Some go to a doctor or a minister; others to a special place for handling personal problems, like a psychiatrist or a marriage counselor. How about you: have you ever gone to any of the people listed on this card? SHOW CARD NO. 15

A. ___ Minister

B. ___ Psychiatrist

C. ___ Other doctor

D. ___ Social agency

E. ___ Marriage counselor

F. ___ Clinic

G. ___ Teacher

H. ___ Guidance counselor

I. ___ Friends

J. ___ Parents

K. ___ Acquaintances

L. ___ Neighbors

M. ___ Other _____

Employment Problems

The following questions deal with training.

81. Since you left school (or since your last job) have you had any schooling or training?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 103

(a) Was this training arranged under the Manpower Development and Training Act (M.D.T.A.), Opportunities for the Future (OFF), or similar programs?

/no/ /yes/ IF NO OTHER TRAINING, GO TO Q. 90

(b) Did you have formal on-the-job training of a month or more?

/no/ /yes/ IF NO OTHER TRAINING, GO TO Q. 98

(c) Was this training that you arranged for and paid for?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 90

82. What job were you being trained for? _____

(a) Where were you trained? _____

(b) How long was the course? _____

(c) What other courses would you have been interested in which you did not take? _____

_____

83. Were you told by anybody that you should take the course?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 84

(a) Who told you? _____

(b) Why did he suggest it? _____

_____

84. Had any of your friends taken a course like this?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 85

(a) What was their experience? _____

_____

Employment Problems

85. Did you complete the course?

/yes/ GO TO Q.86 /no/

(a) How many weeks did you complete? _____

(b) Why did you not finish the course? _____

_____

_____

86. When you began the course, did you feel that it would help you in getting a job? /yes/ /no/ /Don't know/

87. Do you feel that the training actually helped you in getting a job?
/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 88

(a) Was that job in line with the training you had? /yes/ /no/

(b) Was it true of later jobs? /yes/ /no/

(c) Describe the use you were able to make of the training:

_____

_____

(d) How long did you stay in your first job after completing training?

_____

GO TO Q. 89

88. If you did not get a job after your training, why not?

_____

_____

_____

Employment Problems

89. Did you get any advice about getting and holding a job before you completed the course? /yes/ /no/

(a) What advice did you get? _____

(b) Did you get any similar advice after you completed the course?

/yes/ /no/

(c) What advice did you get? _____

IF NO M.D.T.A. TRAINING, OR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, GO TO Q. 103
Now, about your training under M.D.T.A., or OFF:

90. For what job or occupation were you being trained? _____

_____

(a) Where were you trained? _____

(b) How long was the course? _____

91. Were there other courses you would have liked to take?

/yes/ /no/

(a) What are they? _____

92. Did you complete this training program?

/yes/ GO TO Q. 94 /no/

(a) How many weeks of it did you complete? _____

(b) Why did you not finish the course? _____

93. Was there anything that could have been done for you which would have made it possible for you to finish the course?

_____

_____

(a) Was the allowance you received sufficient to permit you to get the training? /yes/ /no/

(b) If not, explain: _____

_____

Employment Problems

94. When you began the course, did you feel that it would help you in getting a job?

/yes/ /no/ /Don't know/

95. Do you feel that the training actually helped you in getting a job?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 96

(a) If so, was that job in line with the training you had?

/yes/ /no/

(b) Was it true of later jobs? /yes/ /no/

(c) Describe the use you were able to make of the training.

(d) How long did you stay in your first job after completing the course?

96. If you did not get a job after your course, why was this?

97. Did you get any advice about getting and holding a job before you completed the course?

/yes/ /no/

(a) What advice did you get?

(b) Did you get any similar advice after you completed the course?

/yes/ /no/

(c) What advice did you get?

IF NO ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, GO TO Q. 103

Now, about your formal on-the-job training, of a month or more.

98. What job were you trained for?

(a) At which firm did you have this training?

Employment Problems

99. Did this firm hire you after you completed the on-the-job training?

/yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 100

(a) Was this job permanent or temporary? _____

(b) Was this the same job for which you were trained?

/yes/ /no/

(c) If not, describe your actual job _____

100. How did you find out about the possibility of receiving on-the-job training?

/Employment service/ /School/ /Urban League/ /Employer/ /Other/

101. Do you feel that on-the-job training for you would have been improved if it had included adult education courses?

/yes/ /no/

(a) What courses? _____

102. Do you feel the training wage was sufficient for your needs?

/yes/ /no/

(a) How did you manage? _____

_____

_____

(b) Do you know anyone who has not taken on-the-job training because he couldn't afford to?

/yes/ /no/

Now I have a few background questions which will help us to interpret this interview.

103. How old are you? ____

104. Are you now /Married/ /Separated/ /Divorced/ /Widowed/ /never married/ /Engaged/ .

Employment Problems

105. Who are the members of your family who live with you?

(a) Where do they work ?

(b) What kind of work do they do?

Relationship to R	Sex	Age	Where Working	Kind of Job	Pay per week

106. Have you ever served in the armed forces?

/yes/ /no/

(a) When was that? from _____(month) _____(year) to _____(month) _____(year)

107. Did you get education or training while you were in the armed forces?

/yes/ /no/

(a) What kind of training? _____

_____

108. During the first 12 years of your life, did your father live with your family?

/yes/ /no/

(a) What times did he live there? _____

_____

109. During the first twelve years of your life was your father

/working all the time/ /most of the time/ /about half the time/ /occasionally/ /not at all/

Employment Problems

110. During the first twelve years of your life was your mother

/working all the time/ /most of the time/ /about half the time/

/occasionally/ /not at all/

111. Were you raised by both your parents, your mother alone, or by whom else?

Describe: _____

_____

112. As far as you know, have your parents (or those who raised you) ever received financial assistance from the Welfare Department, a private welfare agency, or have received Unemployment Compensation, Workman's Compensation, etc.? /yes/ /no/ GO TO Q. 113

(a) Which agency did they receive the assistance from?

_____

(b) How long did they receive this assistance?_____

113. Have you received financial support within the past two years in one of the following ways? SHOW CARD NO. 16

A.___ Unemployment compensation How often___For how long___

B.___ Public welfare or A.D.C. For how long_____

C.___ Social Security Since_____

D.___ Money earned by other family members: From_____ To _____

_____ _____

E.___ Help from other relatives: From _____ To _____

_____ _____

F.___ Friends

G.___ Insurance

H.___ Other government or private sources. Describe: _____

_____

Employment Problems

INTERVIEWER'S DATA

A1. Time interview ended: _____

A2. R's sex is: /Male/ /Female/

A3. R's race is: /White/ /Negro/ Other: _____

A4. R's cooperation was: /Very good/ /Good/ /Fair/ /Poor/

A5. What was the housekeeping like? /Neat/ /Lived in/ /Untidy/

A6. R's appearance was: /Neat/ /Average/ /Careless/

A7. Does he express himself clearly? /Yes/ /No/

A8. Was there reading material in the house?

/Newspapers/ /Magazines/ /Bookshelves/ /Library books/

A9. Other persons present at interview were: /None/

/Children under 6/ /Older children/ /Spouse/

/Other relatives/ /Other adults/

(CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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